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BEHIND THE ANTI-SEMITIC OUTRAGES

Nazis in the saddle again in W. Germany spur hate campaign

By Kumar Goshal

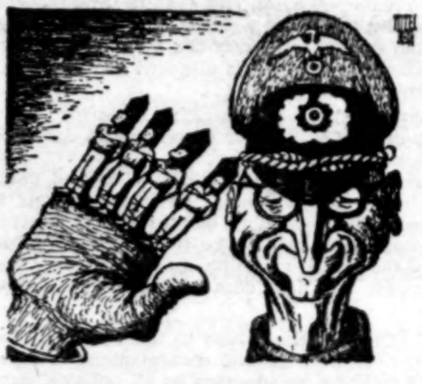
AS THE SEASON of good will to man drew to a close, ugly anti-Semitic incidents occurred in West Germany and in West Berlin. They spread quickly to Austria, France, Britain, Belgium, Norway, Holland, Italy, Greece and Australia, and across the ocean to the U.S. Their ideological base soon broadened to include attacks on democracy and on the Catholic Church. Once again the monster cry was heard: "Heil Hitler!"

Many observers linked these incidents with West Germany's revived military and economic might. To them it seemed that the West's nurturing of Chancellor Adenauer's Germany as the most powerful element in NATO's crusade against communism had a deadly parallel in the West's nurturing of Hitler's Germany against the Soviet Union.

ONE SYNAGOGUE: The flare-up of anti-Semitism began on Christmas morning in Cologne, Chancellor Adenauer's home town. On that day a new synagogue, built to replace the seven in Cologne destroyed by the Nazis, was smeared with swastikas and slogans that proclaimed: "Germans demand that Jews get out." Before the war, 20,000 Jews lived in Cologne. Of these 11,000 were murdered. Only 1,200 live there today.

A memorial in a park a mile from the synagogue was defaced. A bronze statue of a mother holding a lifeless child in her arms bore this inscription: "Here rest seven victims of the Gestapo. This memorial recalls Germany's most shameful time—1933:1945." The second sentence was blotted out with black paint.

The Cologne desecrations apparently were the signal for others: Swastikas, slogans (including "Death to Jews," "Out with the Jews," "Heil Hitler") and SS emblems were painted on Jewish homes and shops, park benches, fire houses and a courthouse and a creche all over West Germany and in West Berlin. In Offenbach in Hesse, a Jewish resident's car was damaged and marked with swasti-



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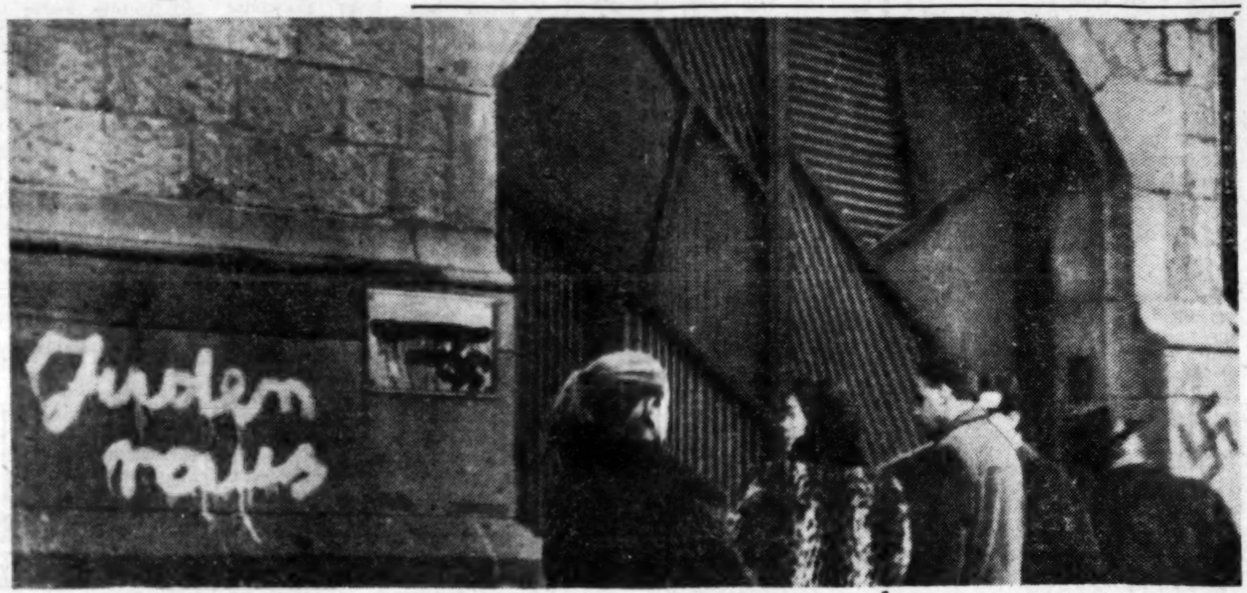

AND I HAVE ALSO HEARD THE GROANING OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL: EXODUS 6:5
Once again the writing on the wall: On a Cologne synagogue it reads: "Out with the Jews!"

MOST EYES WILL BE ON THE ELECTIONS

Outlook cloudy as Congress reconvenes

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian
WASHINGTON

THE 86TH CONGRESS at noon Jan. 6 resumed its sessions just where it left off at 6:22 a.m. last Sept. 15. It reconvened with a large question mark hovering over its possible performance.

There is a danger that the second session of this Congress may be a barrier to ending the Cold War; that it may pass new laws undermining the recent favorable civil liberties decisions of the Supreme Court, and that it may even enact additional repressive labor legislation.

But there is also a hope that at least a fair-sized section of Congress will give weight to the prevailing mood for peace in the country in advance of the Summit conference; that the Democratic majority will redeem some of the party's campaign pledges on economic welfare legislation such as social security, Federal aid to education and to economically depressed areas, and on minimum wages.

EYES ON ELECTION: This will be a short session, with adjournment planned by July 4 in time for both party conventions that month.

Congress will be preoccupied with the election. Vice President Nixon and Senators Kennedy, Humphrey, Johnson and Symington are all seeking nomination. There are even more candidates for Vice President, and one-third of the Senators join all the House members in the polls this year. Partisanship will be rampant as the Congress is used as a warm-up forum for the elections.

When this Congress was elected in November, 1958, there were great expectations as "liberals" replaced many of the most reactionary members. But the first session was highly praised by the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce and the American Bankers Assn. The AFL-CIO called it disastrous. Whether 1959 was just a prelude for more of the same in 1960 depends on action on the following issues.

The steel settlement

As the GUARDIAN went to press, the eight-month steel dispute was settled. The GUARDIAN will carry a full report next week.

PEACE: This is the supreme issue in this session. Congress escaped from Washington just a few hours before Khrushchev arrived last September, but it cannot now escape the issues his visit raised.

The direction towards peace has already been indicated by the significant though hesitant and limited steps already taken. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) has been pushing consideration of disarmament. S. Res. 96 and H. R. 4295, sponsored by Sen. Humphrey and Rep. Charles O. Porter (D-Ore.) would tighten the U.S. position on ending nuclear bomb testing. Rep. William H. Meyer (D-Vt.) and a small band of other House members waged a real fight against spreading nuclear weapons to other countries. Another group in the House led by Henry S. Reuss (D-Wisc.), Chester W. Bowles (D-Conn.), and James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) have begun to question the all-out continuation of the cold war.

Premier Khrushchev was given a serious hearing by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. A number of most influential Senators have expressed some searching concern about our cold war policies. These include Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and the Senate Majority Whip Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.). Sen. Clair Engle (D-Calif.) recently sent up a trial balloon on the question of our relations with Peoples China.

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WHAT THE AEC DOESN'T KNOW OR WON'T TELL:

Are our coastal seas poisoned by atomic waste?

By Robert E. Light
(First of three articles)

RADIOACTIVE WASTE from atomic plants is carried across the country every day by air, rail and highway to storage centers in coastal cities. When enough waste is accumulated, it is placed in steel drums, loaded on a ship and dumped at sea at a depth of 1,000 fathoms (6,000 feet). This is one of three ways the Atomic Energy Commission disposes of irradiated waste.

AEC officials insist their methods are efficient, relatively inexepensive and offer no hazard to human life. But there is considerable evidence that the AEC disposal program is contaminating our food and water and foredooming future generations to a highly radioactive environment.

The AEC seems willing to take these risks on uncertain scientific information in order to cut costs. It argues that the amount of radioactivity involved is very small. But if present disposal methods continue with the expanded uses of atomic energy, the radioactivity added to the environment can become a major menace.

UNKNOWN DANGERS: Atomic wastes are generally divided into two categories. High-level or "hot" wastes correspond roughly to ash from a coal furnace and are highly dangerous. Each particle is an arsenal of lethal rays and must be isolated. They are stored deep in the ground in reinforced steel tanks.

Since 1945 the U.S. has accumulated a 65,000,000-gallon atomic cesspool. Most of it is at Hanford, Wash.; the rest is stored at Savannah River, S.C.; Idaho Falls, Ida.; Los Alamos, N.M., and Oak Ridge, Tenn. The cesspool will retain its high-level radioactivity for about 1,000 years, but the steel tanks will not last as long. What will happen some centuries in the future when the wastes infiltrate the soil is still uncertain.

Low-level wastes—measured by their

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THE MAIL BAG

Gratitude

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I have written this day to U.S. Senator Stephen M. Young as follows:

"The American people owe you a debt of deep gratitude for showing up a whole bunch of sacred cows as nothing but a taxidermists' nightmare, namely, stuffed bull."

M. S.

Defends horse thieves

EL CAJON, CALIF.

Although I have come to expect pretty good reporting and writing in the GUARDIAN, every once in a while you folks outdo yourselves. Take the issue of Dec. 21, for instance—**MAGNIFICENT!**

Perhaps in my case this is due to two articles which are so immediate—so close to all of us.

One is Light's report on the drug business. The coverage seems so complete and, because of its importance, not any too long.

Sen. Wiley's remark, "I don't want the public to get the impression . . . that you are a bunch of horse thieves," makes me wonder what horse thieves had ever done to him that he should go out of his way in order to insult them. I'm sure **they** never made it a point to rook the sick.

The other article I refer to especially is Burnham's "Stevenson proposes new anti-strike law."

Stevenson and the present Democratic hopefuls along with Harry (Jack-in-the-Box) Truman need exposing for what they are: anti-labor, "me too," cold warmongers. You simply **MUST** find space for more on these characters during 1960.

The Morse for President stirrings in Oregon—if Morse will monger peace—or Chester Bowles ditto could win and bring some hope that we will not all be blown to hell by the military brass.

Robert Karger

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

From an Associated Press interview with Mrs. Katia Jacobs, a demonstrator at the American Exhibition in Moscow last summer:

Some Russians asked about stories they had read of rats biting babies in America. They asked how much a month she paid for her house and remarked, "You'd get thrown out on the street if you didn't pay, wouldn't you?"

"They have many misconceptions about America," Mrs. Jacobs said.

—The Daily **Oklahoman,** 12/21/59.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry Winner this week: L.M., Oklahoma City, Okla.

From a free spirit

BOSCAWEN, N.H.

Mrs. Uphaus and I wish to express our heartfelt thanks for all the love and prayers and giving on the part of our many friends during a long, hard struggle to save the First Amendment with its precious guarantees of religious freedom and freedom of peaceful assembly. I think of you, one by one, and thank God for you.

I would like to name you all. The Rights of Conscience Fund of the American Friends Service Committee came along early with its financial support. This warmed my heart, especially because I had learned many of the lessons of peace and brotherhood at Earlham Quaker College at Richmond, Indiana, where I spent two years as a student. Then there is the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee which took up the fight at the outset, giving moral support and legal counsel. ECLC surrounded me with many understanding friends. The Bill of Rights Fund helped again and again.

When the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1953 made its dishonest secret listing of ministers, rabbis and lay religious leaders, the Religious Freedom Committee was formed, and it has continued to warn churchmen and religious editors of the repression of religious liberty by such measures of intimidation and persecution. It has held forth the extreme danger to democracy in this interference of witch-hunting committees with the free exercise of religion. And, from the beginning of the Uphaus case, the Religious Freedom Committee has given its support, as it is doing now in such great measure. Likewise, the Methodist Federation for Social Action, which includes hundreds of socially sensitive Christians of my own denomination, pleaded again and again through the **Social Questions Bulletin,** greatly strengthening my courage. And the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, which from the beginning has done such a fine job in reporting the developments in this long, long struggle!

And then, the gallant fighters in our own World Fellowship family! How we love them! It would takes pages to describe their action and giving in my behalf.

We break over and name names only in the case of our brilliant and devoted legal counselors, Dr. Royal W. France, Leonard Boudin and Hugh H. Bownes.

To all we say: Keep up courage! Willard Uphaus' body is behind New Hampshire prison bars, but his spirit is free. God bless you!

Willard Uphaus
Merrimack County Jail

Mote & beam

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I have only recently read the much-touted **Dr. Zhivago,** which in my humble judgment is a long way from being a modern **War and Peace,** as one reviewer pronounced it.

However that may be, I am reminded of the Biblical "mote and beam" as I compare the cases of Paul Robeson and Boris Pasternak. Admitting that the Russians erred in not allowing Pasternak to publish his novel and to go abroad to accept the Nobel prize, what about Paul Robeson as an example of American officialdom, cultural bigwigs and hysterical newspapers mistreating and vilifying a world-recognized artist and a versatile one.

What has been Robeson's crime? It is not his love for the common man and his faith in democracy, a democracy that must be rooted in human brotherhood? Therefore he loves, as well as sings for, the common man everywhere—the whole human family of those, as Gorki called them, "down below."

And America talks hypocritically about Pasternak!

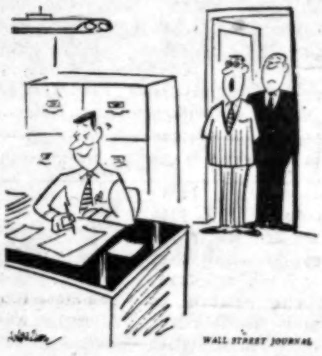
Ole Hanson

Poets, Ahoy!

OMAHA, NEB.

I am deep in the work of an anthology—call it what you please, "Life in the Space Age," "The Peril and Promise in the Atomic Age"—and I am looking for a stirring poem that captures the spirit and challenge of that famous poem, "Excelsior," learned in public school decades ago, but brought up to 1960. Also looking for a poem in the spirit of Markham's "The Man with a Hoe" that captures the psychic plight of the automaton on the gargantuan assembly line or in the super-office of the super-routinized corporation. Also poems that deal with the space age, the cultural gap between scientist and humanist, the cult of violence in mass media, the fear of ideas in our current culture, reverence for life, etc. Any material, sources, references, concerning the above in poetic form will be highly appreciated.

Harry G. Mendelson
4304 California St.



Wall Street Journal

"He's the worst misfit I've ever seen. Always working, never complains, relaxed and serene, takes life in his stride."

General Holdridge

NEW YORK, N. Y.

That note from Edna Hansen about Gen. Holdridge was good to see in the GUARDIAN and I was glad to see your notation that the general had announced his candidacy for President.

Every reader of the GUARDIAN should become readers of his "Minute Men" bulletin (P.O. Box 1068, Sherman Oaks, Calif.) from time to time. He is a living flame—or as the vernacular has it nowadys, a live wire.

Against the Wall Street-Vatican Axis, as he calls it, he is a real Minute Man right out of the fighting heart of 1776.

Horace Casselberry

Let it reign

WEST HAVEN, CONN.

Confucius said, about 2,500 years ago:

"I have heard that the ruler of a kingdom, or the chief of a house, is not concerned about his people being few, but about lack of equitable treatment; nor is he concerned over poverty, but over the presence of discontent; for where there is equity there is no poverty, where concord prevails there is no lack of people, and where contentment reigns there are no upheavals."

Wouldn't you say now, more than ever, this is true?

H. H.

Mature loyalty

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

A mature loyalty to one's country is something which can't be bought, nor sold. It is cultivated by the ideals for which a country stands, by home environment, by education, by social behavior, and by the people on the whole.

Some countries call this "patriotism," some call this "love of country." No threats of coercion can destroy this.

Benjamin Vaganov

Answer: yes

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Is it not tyranny when a sick, 70-year-old woman is forced to work because two-thirds of her $70 monthly Social Security benefit goes to the landlord for a slum apartment?

K. G.

Coming Next Week!

A wonderful selection of imported popular records—11 of Yves Montand, 3 of Line Renaud, Louis Armstrong classics, musical comedy favorites, etc.—in next week's Guardian Buying Service.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

MILITARY GOVERNMENT continues to harbor anti-Negro discrimination, anti-Semitism, black-marketeering and prostitution. This correspondent was in Germany only a few hours when he heard an American civilian instructing a German on "the big part Jews play in New York gangster operations." An office girl told me that Jews and "other foreigners" run the black market in Germany, and a drunken American soldier threatened violence and called me a "dirty Jew boy."

The overall impression in the U.S. zone is one of corruption. One cannot escape the sight of prostitutes infesting the center of Frankfurt, GI's swearing and insulting German women, and black market operators boldly doing business in the open.

Culture consists mainly of violent American movies. Newspaper stands are adequately supplied with **Time, Newsweek and Life** and German picture magazines with sensational stories glorifying the Hitler era.

—Dispatch from Frankfurt in the Guardian, Jan. 9, 1959

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-exile* JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager* JAMES ARONSON *Editor*

EDITORIAL STAFF: Louis E. Burnham, Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Robert E. Light, Tabitha Petran, Robert Joyce (Art), David Reif (Art Library), Norval D. Welch (Production). LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. PROMOTION and CIRCULATION: George Evans. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (London), Anne Bauer (Paris) George Wheeler (Prague), W. G. Burchett (Moscow), Anna Louise Strong (Peking), Narendra Goyal (New Delhi), Ursula Wassermann (roving correspondent), LOS ANGELES representative: Jack Fox, 465 So. Detroit St., Los Angeles 36. Phone: WEbster 8-8065.

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REPORT TO READERS

Program for peace

WE WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE that Nelson Rockefeller retired from the contest for the Republican nomination for President because of popular opposition to his proposal for resuming nuclear weapons testing—but we think that would be kidding ourselves. The facts of Rockefeller's withdrawal are pretty much on the table: He ran into a solid Nixon Republican machine everywhere he looked for support; and his advisers, including the chief press agent for the Rockefeller financial interests, didn't want their prize political front man to chance a trimming from a Nixon convention.

This does not mean that the Rockefeller Bros. Fund program to increase our armaments budget to some $80 billion in the next ten years is a dead letter. Indeed, it might mean the reverse: that, to muster out full Republican strength, Vice President Nixon, even though uncontested as his party's nominee, will have to lower his peace facade (it is already slipping) and move toward accommodation of the Rockefeller Bros. viewpoint.

Thar's payola in them thar hills—and payola is the bedrock of successful machine politics, as hardly anybody knows better than Richard Milhous Nixon (see chapter 4 of Guy Finney's **The Two Faces of Richard Nixon,** 50c, Era Books, P.O. Box 112, Toluca Branch, No. Hollywood, Calif.)

TRAGICALLY, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY is far from being ready, willing or able to force the issue of peace and disarmament in the 1960 argument. The Truman-Acheson Old Guard, unregenerate cold war proponents, controlled the recent lackluster Democratic Party advisory committee policy statement; and of the Democratic Presidential aspirants, only Senator Humphrey is engaged in open combat against nuclear weapons testing.

Yet the one issue which could win a resounding majority if presented in clearcut fashion in 1960 is the issue of peace and disarmament. All tests of public opinion confirm this.

The reason for the wide gulf between public opinion and political program is that the voting public has as yet found no way to enforce its will on the elements controlling our two-party system. The public must find a way to make the two-party system do its bidding in 1960, if we (and the world) are to be spared the disastrous Rockefeller Bros. program for the next decade, even with Nelson sitting on the sidelines.

ONE WAY WOULD BE FOR ALL the groups in the U.S. standing for peace, a ban on nuclear weapons and disarmament to agree on a common program and press for its adoption by all political candidates for the Presidency and for Congress, and for its inclusion in the platforms of both major party conventions. Several such groups are already undertaking together to draft such a program. If and when proposed, it could become everybody's business to see that it is brought irresistibly to the attention of the nation's political leadership, at every level from ward and precinct to the White House.

WE WELCOME THIS DEVELOPMENT from another point of view also: it provides at least a glimmer of hope that such free enterprise on the part of conscientious citizenry may serve to break the current Republican monopoly of the peace issue—thus providing voters with a will and a way to beat Nixon instead of going fishing on Election Day.

—THE GUARDIAN

JUDICIAL REDRESS BARRED TO SCORES

How many patriots will we let them jail?

By Louis E. Burnham

A JUDICIAL PROCESS aimed at jailing 34 citizens who have relied on the First Amendment in refusing to testify or inform before Congressional and state investigating committees gained momentum with the beginning of the new year. Two of the group were already in jail.

Lloyd Barenblatt, former Vassar College psychology instructor, was imprisoned last Nov. 10 and is now serving a six-month term at the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury, Conn. The Supreme Court's 5-4 decision last June affirmed the contempt of Congress conviction growing out of his refusal to answer questions before the House Un-American Activities Committee. This barred the way to judicial redress for the other defendants.

J. B. MATTHEWS
They said something smelled

On Dec. 14 Dr. Willard Uphaus, 69-year old Christian pacifist peace leader and director of World Fellowship of Faiths, was imprisoned for a one-year term in the Merrimack County jail, Boscawen, N.H. During the Christmas holidays he received 75 to 125 letters daily supporting a growing campaign for his freedom. Pleas for amnesty had also been voiced by prominent Methodist churchmen and in editorials in the N.Y. **Times, Post** and **Herald Tribune,** the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** and the Washington **Post.**

DAVIS AND SEEGER: Meanwhile, Dr. Horace Chandler Davis, a 33-year-old mathematician of Providence, R.I., was preparing to surrender to Federal authorities to begin serving a six-month term. Now an editor of **Mathematical Reviews,** publication of the American Mathematical Society, Davis' "contempt" dates back to 1954. Then an instructor at the U. of Michigan, he refused to answer Un-American Activities Committee questions about his politics. He said recently that he invoked the First Amendment because "the committee was using its hearings to punish people who disagreed with its ideas and the effect of the hearings was to silence them and their friends. I wanted the Supreme Court to pass on whether the committee had this right."

On Jan. 4 folk singer Pete Seeger and two actors won a delay in their trial in the Federal District Court in New York City. Their cases had been pending since 1955, when they refused to cooperate with the House Committee.

TWENTY-SEVEN OTHERS: On Jan. 18, author Harvey O'Connor, co-chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, will go on trial in Newark, N.J., for refusal to accept a Committee subpena last year.

In addition, 27 other First Amendment protestants will be facing trial or pressing their appeals from "guilty" verdicts during the next year. One by one, they will go off to jail unless the Supreme Court verdict in the Barenblatt case is overturned.

In denying Barenblatt's appeal, the High Court ruled that "in pursuance of its legislative concerns in the domain of 'national security' the House has clothed the Un-American Activities Committee with pervasive authority to investigate Communist activities in this country."

BRADEN AND WILKINSON: On the strength of this opinion, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in November affirmed the convictions of Carl Braden, field secy. of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and Frank Wilkinson, Secretary of the Los Angeles Committee to Preserve American Freedoms. Both Wilkinson and Braden had refused to answer Committee questions in an Atlanta hearing in July, 1958.

Wilkinson is a leader in the movement to abolish the Committee because of its infringement of free speech and assembly. In rejecting his appeal, a three-judge panel of the Circuit Court found that the "pervasive authority" of the Committee included "the power to investigate activities directed to interference with the legislative processes and their functioning."

In a clear warning to persons who petition Congress to dissolve the Committee, the justices said: "The activities in which the appellant was believed to be participating presented a more direct threat to the national security than those of which Barenblatt was suspected."

"QUESTIONABLE DOCTRINE": Lawyers for Braden have asked all seven justices of the Circuit Court to rehear the appeal in his case. They point out that Braden refused to answer six questions before the committee: one relating to possible Communist Party membership, the other five dealing with his activities in civil rights and civil liberties. They cite as "questionable doctrine" the view of the three-judge panel that "philanthropic organizations may be investigated by the Committee to determine whether they are 'being used for the spread of propaganda of a foreign-dominated organization with subversive designs upon our governmental system.'"

Such a procedure, the lawyers contend, "opens wide a road, presently being vigorously developed by several state legislative committees to investigate as subversive any organization supporting the right to racial integration as enunciated by the Supreme Court of the United States."

THE FLORIDA CASE: The relationship between the fight to preserve Constitutional freedoms and the battle for integration is symbolized in the case of three Negro ministers now facing jail for refusing to let a Florida legislative investigating committee examine NAACP membership lists.

Last November Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, president of the Miami branch, told the committee: "Whom I associate with is none of your business; that is my business—that is a right inherent in the U.S. Constitution."

State NAACP president Rev. A. Leon Lowry of Tampa said: "The whole question in Florida is the right of association. We don't have any right to go around asking people what they belong to before they can join NAACP." He added: "It is quite apparent that the committee's action is an attempt to intimidate and to label an organization, and to weaken it. This year we have been pressing for our rights in almost every area and that is why they are after us."

Rev. Edward T. Graham, a past president of the Miami branch, refused to tell the committee whether he was an NAACP member. All three ministers based their defiance on the First Amendment. The committee voted contempt citations against the Revs. Gibson and Graham and decided to ask the legislature at its next meeting to jail Rev. Lowry, who failed to appear at one session of the hearing.

CARTER IN MISSISSIPPI: In Mississippi the aftermath of another legislative committee investigation was marked, not by contempt citations, but by contemptuous remarks. The legislature adopted, 89-15, a resolution approving the report of a committee before which the self-styled "professional Communist-hunter," J. B. Matthews, had testified. Matthews had identified editor Hodding Carter of the Greenville **Delta-Democrat** as "subversive" because of his connection with the interracial Southern Regional Council. Carter called the legislators "moral morons" and said:

"If they think they can run me out of the state, they're crazy."

THE PUERTO RICANS: In addition to the 34 defendants already cited, 14 others awaited the opening of Congress to determine whether they would be added to the list. They had refused to respond to Un-American Activities Committee questions when the Committee subpenaed Puerto Ricans in New York and San Juan, P.R., last November. The Committee threatened to recommend that Congress cite them for contempt.

WHAT BLACK SAID: William Price, coordinator of the Committee of First Amendment Defendants, said that the big job in supporting the Committee victims is to convince the nation and the Supreme Court of the correctness of Justice Hugo Black's dissent in the Barenblatt case. Justice Black said:

"The Committee proceedings were part of a legislative program to stigmatize and punish by public identification and exposure all witnesses considered by the Committee to be guilty of Communist affiliations, as well as all witnesses who refused to answer Committee questions on constitutional grounds; the Committee was thus improperly seeking to try, convict and punish suspects, a task which the Constitution grants exclusively to the courts, to be exercised by them only after indictment and in full compliance with all the safeguards provided by the Bill of Rights."

Information on First Amendment cases may be secured from the Committee of First Amendment Defendants, P.O. Box 564, Radio City Station, New York 19, N.Y.

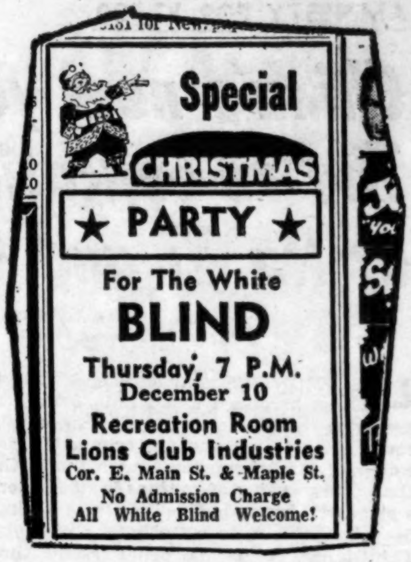
Pot's boiling over Sen. Young

THROUGH the last weeks verbal firecrackers continued to pop as a result of Ohio Sen. Stephen M. Young's appearance Dec. 15 at the New York Bill of Rights Dinner of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Young (shown above, center, with ECLC co-chairman Corliss Lamont, left, and toastmaster Hubert T. Delany) spoke in defiance of leaders of the Hamilton County Council of the American Legion whom he called "self-appointed censors and self-proclaimed super-duper 100% American Firsters."

A few days later Rep. Gordon H. Scherer (R-Ohio), veteran member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, asserted that two committees of Congress "have conclusively shown that the [ECLC] was organized by Communists and is today Communist-dominated and controlled." The Cincinnati **Enquirer** picked up Scherer's charge and ECLC director Clark Foreman picked up the debate. The charge, he wrote the **Enquirer,** was "a double lie," and added: "I defy Rep. Scherer to prove his charge either that the committees have so found or that the allegations are true."

To make the matter official, Foreman sent Rep. Scherer a copy of his letter to the **Enquirer,** with a covering letter which said: "I challenge you to a public debate on the veracity of your charges in any forum in the State of Ohio, or if you prefer, in the City of New York."

At press time, no further word had come from Scherer.



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CHRISTMAS
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From the Durham, N.C., Sun 12/8/59

Now: Smog masks

LONDON, Nov. 11—The police of Wallsall, all 180 of them, are getting something no other policemen in Britain have—official smog masks.

Chief Constable K. M. Waerly said today: "Policemen need that little extra protection in smog. They can't just down tools and go inside."

And so when the fogs of winter creep into Wallsall, a town north of Birmingham, the police will be able to put on a metal contraption that holds a cotton gauze pad over the nose and mouth and stay out in the smog.

N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** Nov. 12, 1959

AMNESTY FOR 12,000

China's new year: The re-education of Pu Yi and Co.

By Anna Louise Strong
Guardian Staff Correspondent

PEKING

LAST MONTH'S announcement that the Supreme Court pardoned and freed 33 war criminals, followed by the freeing and pardoning of 12,000 counter-revolutionary and common criminals by the Superior courts of various provinces, with the further statement that "the granting of pardons is still under way," seems a singularly happy manner of giving Christmas presents by a land that does not officially recognize Christmas. The Chinese courts and penal system, through patient reclamation of individuals, have moved towards internal peace.

To Americans the most notable thing in the announcement may be the name of Pu Yi, once emperor of China, later Japanese puppet emperor of Manchukuo. Many will ask: "Why should that unhappy young man who lost a throne be further penalized by the name 'arch war criminal?' Is a man 'criminal' because he takes the losing side in a war?"

I put this to a Chinese friend. He looked at me in indignation as he replied. "Of course not! Thousands, even hundreds of thousands of Chiang's men, from generals down, were released straight to good jobs the day the war was done. We do not call a man criminal because he fought on the side of Chiang. We call men criminals who went beyond ordinary war, men who slaughtered prisoners on the eve of their liberation, who tortured and killed progressives over many years.

"Pu Yi put his name to decrees that murdered hundreds of thousands in Manchuria, that put whole villages to the torch. The slaughter of Manchurians for a decade and a half was done under the seal of the last emperor of the Manchu Dynasty. Granted that the Japanese made the policy, Pu Yi didn't have to take that job authorizing the burning and slaughter of his own people. He himself recognizes this now. And when a man recognizes and admits past evil and wants to turn over a new leaf, then we accept him as a new man."

NO HALF MEASURES: When the Chinese give a pardon they go the whole way. Every man on the list, whether one of the arch criminals who had to be pardoned by the Supreme Court or the 12,000 who were handled by lower courts, is given free transport to his home province if he wants it, and is guaranteed a job "according to his request and qualification." Many who were formerly gangsters or spies for the Kuomintang have learned new jobs in the years of what the Chinese call "re-education," which were not all spent in jail. All the Kuomintang prisoners, for instance, have had many trips to various parts of China in the past ten years.

SHANGHAI, 1949: CHIANG'S CAPTURED TROOPS MARCH BACK IN
Captives then, they have since taken their proud place in China

"They are taken in small groups, like ordinary tourists," a Chinese friend told me. "They visit new factories, new construction, new dams, mines, and railways, and also our communes. None of the workers or peasants whom they see are told that these are criminals; they have with them a guard or two, but these appear as no more than oridnary guides. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese visit projects of all kinds, and these people go like ordinary folk.

"We expect what they see to impress them. It does. When we take a high man of the Kuomintang to a place where he once was governor and he hears the local people say how bad things were in the days before liberation and how they have now improved, then this man knows and understands where he failed his country. This is part of his re-education."

MINIMUM OF VIOLENCE: How many people died in China's long war for liberation and national independence, which the Chinese reckon as beginning with the Opium War of 1840 and ending with the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, no man can say. But even during the actual civil war the armies led by the Chinese Communists were preeminent in all history for winning battles with a minimum of fighting and a maximum of non-violent means.

Their entire strategy was based on inducing as many as possible of the opposing armies to desert to their side, by either persuasion or bribery. To get Peking without fighting, which would have injured the city, they gave every officer and man of the opposing army back pay, severance pay, new jobs or free transportation home as they desired, and they gave the commanding general a cabinet post.

When the active civil war ended, they got rid of banditry in the same manner. When a band was incorrigible they rounded it up, court-martialed the leader and gave land to his men.

American friends who lived through the entire period of civil war and rebuilding tell me that in the aftermath of fighting, including suppression of banditry and the upheaval of land reform, only the most notorious criminals were condemned to death. "Men against whom the whole people cried out," one said. "Gangsters who had murdered widely, raped scores, and slaughtered prisoners in the jails on the eve of liberation."

Even bad landlords, they said, were seldom even kept in jail. They were sent back to their village homes and the village was asked to keep an eye on their conduct. They were disfranchised for a time, until their fellow villagers reported that they were good citizens; then their civil rights were restored.

NO PROBLEM OF CRIME: Today, when I read in the American press of the lawlessness of American cities, I note that in China I have never once locked my outer door at night, whether in hotel or apartment. It is amazing to learn that Peking, which now, by adding nine counties, has nearly seven million population, still has only one rather small jail.

An American friend who knows American jails saw Peking's last summer and said it was just a factory with some trees and gardens and houses around it in a big compound. The outside gate of the compound had a lock and a guard, but there were no locks on the many buildings inside, and the prisoners made nylons and other consumer goods and got wages and learned trades.

My friend was struck by the absence of groups which fill American jails: drunks, dope addicts and prostitutes. Chinese drink but not often to excess; if a man gets drunk, this is treated as a temporary indisposition, not a crime. His friends take him home to bed. Dope addicts were long ago cured and dope was then forbidden. Prostitution also ended a year or two after liberation; in Peking the houses were closed in a single city-wide raid, and the girls were taken away, cured of disease and then taught trades.

I have not yet seen a policeman in Peking except traffic police, and many of these are women. Three times at night I have been in an auto that went through a red light. The whistle blew; our auto stopped and the driver went over to talk to the cop. When he returned, I asked: "Did you get a ticket?" He had never heard of the idea. He said: "The officer reproved me for my carelessness and I apologized and said I would remember that this corner now has a red light."

It is a long way from traffic carelessness to war criminals, but the attitude of patient "re-education" is the same.

JO ANN SANTIAGO

Prompt action urged to halt deportation

PUBLIC PROTEST and emergency legal action is necessary to save Mrs. Jo Ann Santiago, mother of three U.S.-born children and wife of an American citizen, from summary deportation, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born said last week. The need for action arises from a decision made known on Monday, Dec. 28, by the Washington, D.C., Board of Immigration Appeals, denying Mrs. Santiago's appeal.

Complex legal action, involving administrative procedure and Federal court action, was begun by attorney Blanch Freedman to prevent immediate expulsion of Mrs. Santiago and breaking up her family.

PROTESTS URGED: Mrs. Santiago was brought to the U.S. from Canada by her parents when she was six years old, more than 30 years ago. She was subjected to deportation proceedings despite her marriage to Jose Santiago, U.S. citizen, under provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law.

Protests against the law and demands for dropping the deportation order should be addressed to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C.

Funds are urgently needed for legal costs and public information on the case, and should be mailed to Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1422, Grand Central Sta., New York 17. N.Y.

Charles Demetre, 69

CHARLES DEMETRE, treasurer of the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, died in Chicago on Dec. 30. He was 69 years old.

The following tribute was issued by Rev. William T. Baird, honorary chairman of the Midwest Committee:

"In the death of Charles Demetre, the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born suffers the loss of one of its most beloved friends and stalwart leaders. A native of Macedonia, he has made invaluable contributions to his adopted homeland. His many friends will long remember his mature leadership, his many skills and seemingly inexhaustible energies and his rare quality of human understanding.

"For the past five years, Charles Demetre has been the treasurer and one of the most active leaders of the Midwest Committee. Despite increasing ill-health and physical suffering, he continued to shoulder a large burden of responsibility down to the last days of his fatal illness."

Judge Norval Harris dies at 68

FORMER JUDGE Norval K. Harris, the Indiana jurist who fought against the political witch-hunt and for Jeffersonian democracy, died in his home at Sullivan, Ind., on Dec. 29. He was 68 years old. He was a friend and supporter of the GUARDIAN since its inception.

Elected to a six-year term on the Fourteenth Judicial Circuit Court of Indiana in 1948, Judge Harris soon became the center of a lively controversy. The following year he became co-chairman with Paul Robeson of a committee to defend the top Communist leaders being tried under the Smith Act. As a result a group of American Legionnaires tried to have him expelled.

These efforts failing, a grand jury in his court indicted him on three minor counts. Judge Harris accused prosecutor John Knox Purcell of framing him because of his political activities; the charges were set aside in a special trial.

HE NEVER WAVERED: In June, 1950, the Indiana Supreme Court sent Judge Harris to a penal farm for 60 days and fined him $300 after a conviction for contempt. He had been indicted for disobeying an order to stop feuding with the prosecutor.

A month before his death Judge Harris had announced that he would be a candidate for the judgeship again next year. He drew his political, spiritual and intellectual support from the coal miners of Sullivan County. At one time he published a radical newspaper dedicated to improving the conditions of the working people.

Though hounded out of public life, he neved wavered in his devotion to civil liberties. He blasted McCarthyism whenever he thought it would help. While undergoing various prosecutions, he nevertheless maintained high spirits and made "good copy" for the newspapers. Once he refused to show up for trial on a petty charge in Indianapolis because he was attending an American Legion convention in St. Louis and "having such a good time I don't care whether school keeps or not."

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COLONIALISM IS THE ISSUE AND ALGERIA HOLDS THE KEY

Why Israel is near a breaking point with France and W. Africa

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

TEL AVIV

ISRAEL FOR THE PAST few years has carried on a double flirtation with both France and West Africa. Today both relationships are near the breaking point.

Israel's friendship with France suffered its severest blow with the cancellation by Renault of its contract to supply Kaiser-Frazer (Haifa) Ltd. with several thousand cars annually. The breach of contract was justified on the basis of the Arab League's threatened boycott of Renault cars. Since the Arab countries are potentially a larger market than Israel, the French company succumbed to the blackmail and risked a law-suit.

Other international companies like Shell Oil have in the past succumbed to the same Arab threat. What is surprising in the case of Renault is that this is a government-owned firm; it was taken over at the end of the war after Renault had openly collaborated with the Germans throughout the occupation. Neither the Jewish Director-General of Renault, M. Dreyfus, nor the French government which, since Suez, has protested its concern for Israel, have intervened to see that the contract was honored.

RIFT HEALED? Following the Renault affair—which was the first open breach between France and Israel—there was a delay both in placing some Israeli commercial orders in France and in signing the Israel-French cultural agreement long in preparation. However, the Israel shipping line Zim has placed an order for a new passenger luxury ship with a French shipyard and the cultural accord has been signed.

The accord is interesting because it makes French a first foreign language here, on a par with English, and provides for teaching Hebrew in French high schools.

Pierre Mendes-France has just finished a two-week visit here and, although hardly a member of the present Establishment, has thus given Israelis a feeling of continuity in friendly relations between the two countries. Thus the rift apparently has been healed temporarily.

But the basic cause for a cooling of relations remains: An alliance which from the beginning had the negative base of France's and Israel's mutual antipathies to the Arab bloc. With de Gaulle's new policy toward Algeria, it must be assumed that the Arabs will press for further lessening of ties between France and this country and that Israel may easily become expendable.

WEST AFRICA: A similar development has taken place in West Africa. It has been known for some time—even as long ago as last winter when this correspondent visited several West African states—that certain political circles in Ghana and Guinea were asking for less emphasis on relations with Israel.

Matters came to a head with the second reading of the Israel Trade and Payments Agreement in Ghana's Parliament late in October. The debate gave rise to anti-Israel remarks. One government member declared that the Bill would have the result that Ghana would be "under the thumb of the Israel government"; another stated that "the Jews have not got the interests of Ghana at heart."

Prime Minister Nkrumah and the entire government press apologized for these anti-Semitic incidents, and a few weeks later when the small son of an Israeli employe was involved in a serious accident, the government of Ghana went out of its way to have eminent brain-surgeons flown to Accra from all over the world.

The Trade and Payments Agreement Bill has meanwhile been passed and the rift has once more been healed, at least superficially. But unhappy memories remain and rankle and the number of anti-Israel incidents multiply, such as the refusal to invite Israel to Africa-Day in New York as well as to the UN reception for Sekou Touré. Then, only a few days ago, Guinea's UN delegate, Mr. Saba Cory, accused Israel of "imperialistic maneuvering."

NDS OFF AFRICA! AFRICA MUST BE FREE!

ACCRA, 1958: 'DOWN WITH COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM'
The banner on the wall gets to the heart of Asians and Africans

THE QUESTION: Israelis here ask how this deterioration in relations came about. Israel has contributed considerable technical assistance, especially in construction and shipping, and in these fields Israelis on the spot have proved popular.

What is more doubtful is this country's initiative in helping establish Ghana's nautical college and air force training program, for it is often felt here that it would be wiser for Israel to confine herself to technical assistance in fields which do not touch upon nationalistic susceptibilities.

Moreover, as the conservative paper **Haboker** remarked recently, "the Israel colony out there makes far too much noise in proportion to its numbers." This, of course, is usually true of any foreign colony anywhere, only in Israel's case it is more easily exploitable. What is even more basic—and this I wrote from Ghana some nine months ago—is that Israelis in Africa too often tend to identify themselves with what is known as the "European community," a community which is rapidly becoming a myth disappearing into limbo.

THE REAL GRIEVANCE: This identification on the spot finds its counterpart in Israel's foreign policy, however, and especially in her votes in the UN. This is West Africa's real grievance, and this grievance is not confined to anti-Jewish circles. Young Africans, serving their countries at the UN, have for long queried their governments back home on a policy of friendship with a country which consistently votes with the colonial powers. This is the crux of the matter.

Arab propaganda plays its part, and pressure on the part of the entire Afro-Asian bloc upon the new countries of West Africa is powerful. But even without these pressures, Algeria is closer to West Africa than Israel and if they have to choose they will choose Algeria. And so again, as in the case of France, Algeria retains the pivotal position and Israel will be expendable in its favor.

This impasse has begun to worry a number of serious-minded Israelis, and the worry cuts clear across party lines. Until there is peace in the Middle East, Israel will always be in danger of being the weaker, and thus expendable, partner in any coalition or alliance.

The Guardian trip of a lifetime

ON THE EVENING of May 15 a group of GUARDIAN "family" members will gather at New York's Idlewild Airport and an hour later will be soaring over the Atlantic on the first leg of a very special tour—a GUARDIAN-conducted visit to seven European countries!

Meeting the travelers at London Airport the following morning will be Editor-in-Exile Cedric Belfrage, host during a three-day stopover in London that will include all the usual tourist attractions, plus special events now being arranged—an interview with Konni Zilliacus, Labor MP and GUARDIAN contributor, and a motor tour of Stratford-on-Avon, where Paul Robeson recently performed in **Othello.**

THREE DAYS in Stockholm, a wonderful overnight voyage and two-day stop in Helsinki, then on to Leningrad and Moscow, where GUARDIAN correspondent Wilfred Burchett will be on hand. Between May 24 and June 19 the travelers will visit Kharkov, Tashkent, Samarkand, Sukhumi, Yalta, Odessa and Kiev, seeing the first land of socialism at work and at play. They will travel by plane, ship and motor coach, stay at fine hotels and, in the company of skilled interpreters, will visit collective farms and modern, automated factories.

ON JUNE 20 the party will arrive in the medieval Polish city of Krakow, and on the 22nd will be greeted in Prague by GUARDIAN correspondent George Wheeler, whose work in Czechoslovakia gives him unusual qualifications to explain what makes things tick in this highly industrialized country.

In Paris on the 24th another GUARDIAN representative, Anne Bauer, will give a briefing (in excellent English) on the problems of France as well as valuable tips on shops, restaurants and bistros.

On June 28 the tourists will arrive back in New York happier, wiser and glowing after 45 glorious days abroad.

This could be you looking at the Kremlin, if you've saved for that very special trip. See coupon, right, for how to get the details.

THROUGHOUT THEIR TRIP the tourists will be accompanied by Peggy Middleton, London County Councilor, whose wide circle of friends in the capitals of the countries to be visited will open doors that might be closed to individual tourists or ordinary groups. Mrs. Middleton is one of the most charming and capable women in the Western world.

Tickets to special events will be purchased well in advance, and interviews with leading figures will be arranged, whenever possible, by staff correspondents.

The package price of $1,795 includes **everything**—all transportation, whether by land, sea or air, hotel accommodations, meals, baggage transfers, sightseeing arrangements, entrance fees to places visited, and normal tips—everything, in short, except the curios and case of cognac to bring home.

Sound wonderful? It is! It's an unusual opportunity to travel with people who think and feel the way you do, to get inside the countries visited, to enjoy events that can only be arranged by knowledgeable representatives on the spot. And all for a reasonable package price without "hidden extras."

A limited number of reservations are still available, and those who have been accumulating a nest egg for just such an opportunity should grasp it now.

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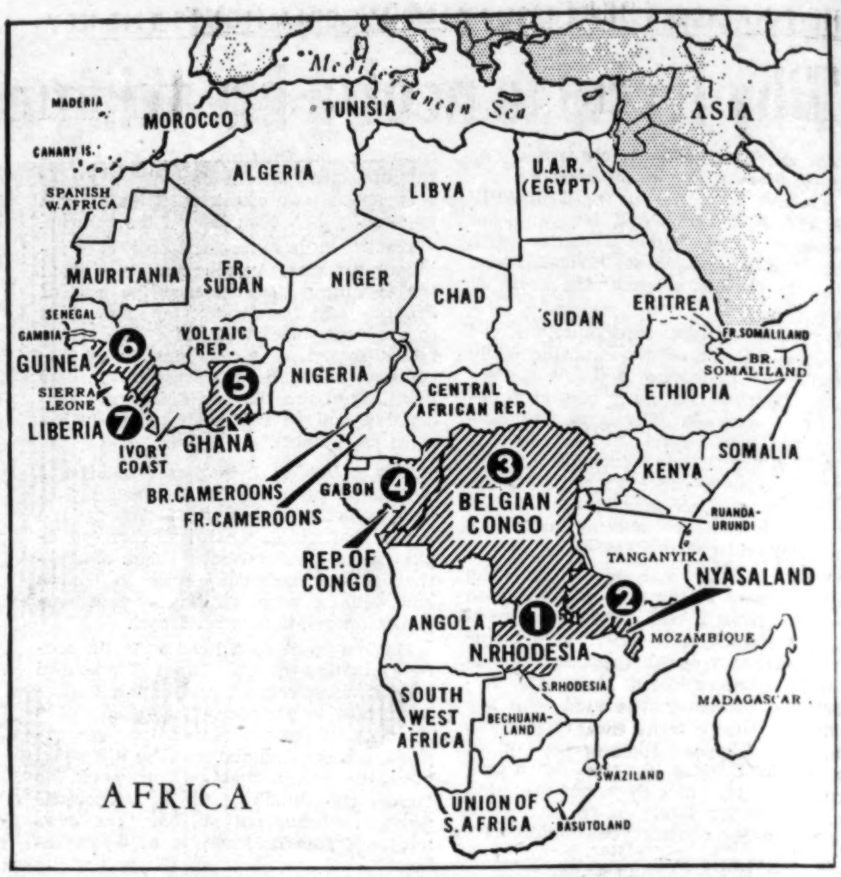
MANY TO JOIN THE UNITED NATIONS

Africa's big year: Five lands to be independent



WHERE A MIGHTY UPHEAVAL BEGINS TO CRUMBLE THE WALLS
But many lands still have a long fight ahead for their freedom

By Kumar Goshal

THIS MAY well be the year of decision in Africa—the last stronghold of colonialism—and especially south of the Sahara, where in a mighty upheaval the walls imprisoning Africans in their own homeland are beginning to crumble.

UN members are watching Africa carefully: several colonies will qualify for membership by the end of the year, thereby increasing the strength of the Afro-Asian group. In anticipation, the UN has established in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, an Economic Commission for Africa, similar to the commissions for Europe, Asia and Latin America. Its purpose is to survey the continent's resources and manpower for "concerted action" for Africa's economic development, "including its social aspects." UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold is touring Africa.

'AFRICA YEAR': Britain is preoccupied with Africa today, and so is Belgium. Labor Party leader Hugh Gaitskell in a New Year's message said his party had designated 1960 as "Africa Year" and emphasized the "special significance" to the labor movement of events in Africa.

In a special message British Liberal Party leader Jo Grimond said that "man's inhumanity to man in Africa is inexcusable." Prime Minister Macmillan left last week for a month's tour of the hot spots in Britain's African colonies. Belguim's King Baudouin toured the Congo last month in an effort to slow down the Congolese's headlong rush to freedom.

On the road to freedom this year are the French-ruled UN trust territories of Cameroon and Togoland; Mali (federation of Senegal and French Sudan) and the island Republic of Malagasy off the east coast of Africa, both still fettered within the French Community; the UN trust territories of Somalia and Somaliland, administered by Italy and Britain, respectively; and British Nigeria.

ELECTIONS DUE: Cameroon, which became technically independent Jan. 1, will hold general elections as a free country within the next six months. It has a flourishing aluminum industry and ample hydroelectric power for other industries to develop a high standard of living for its 3,500,000 people, left alone. But France is seeking to maintain in power the present Paris-oriented government against the popular but currently banned Union of Cameroon Populations led by Dr. Felix Moumie. This has precipitated armed clashes between the popular forces and the present regime; such a clash occurred even on Jan. 1, when the country celebrated its independence.

On Oct. 1, Nigeria, largest in population (35,000,000) in all of Africa, will become an independent member of the British Commonwealth. In last month's elections a conservative government headed by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa came to power; but the party of the progressive Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe ran second and seven of his colleagues were appointed to the 16-member Cabinet. Conservative-Progressive contest for power in the near future seems inevitable as Nigeria, by virtue of its size and population, competes with Ghana and Guinea for the allegiance of its neighbors.

THE PATTERN: The loosening of the imperialist grip on African colonies seems to be following the pattern developed since the end of World War II: areas with sparse European population are gaining freedom by relatively peaceful means, but colonies with large groups of white settlers are in bitter struggle.

Fierce contests are being waged in Kenya, the Central African Federation and the Belgian Congo; the fiercest and bloodiest seems inevitable eventually in the Union of South Africa.

Kenya is in a period of uneasy truce after a seven-year state of emergency. A constitutional conference on Kenya is scheduled for Jan. 18 in London, at which Kenya Independence Movement leader Tom Mboya is expected to demand responsible government based on full adult suffrage with an African Chief Minister, opening of the choice highlands to Africans, eight years' compulsory education for African children and an end to immigration of European farmers. New Kenya Party leader Michael Blundell, former Agriculture Minister, will plead for gradualism and restricted franchise; and United Party leader Capt. L. G. Briggs will urge continued white rule.

DIM PROSPECTS: The outcome of the conference appears bleak, while turbulence simmers just below the surface calm. Emergency regulations expire soon, but their most objectionable features are being enacted into permanent law. The demand for freedom of movement and speech for independence leader Jomo Kenyatta—released from prison but under house arrest in the interior—has been increasing in intensity. Mboya has urged that Kenyatta be invited to the London conference and has asked that he and other members of his party be allowed to visit him. .

WELENSKY'S RULE: Central African Federation (The Rhodesias and Nyasaland) Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky, former prize fighter and trade union leader, has jailed without trial more than 1,000 African leaders while trying to calm the angry Africans with small minor concessions: the right to buy postage stamps at the same window as whites and to play the horses and in lotteries. Meanwhile, Britain has appointed a commission headed by Viscount Monckton to inquire into the prospects for dominion status for the Central African Federation from which Nyasaland Africans are struggling to escape.

In London last month Joshua Nkomo of the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress, Kanyama Chiume of the Nyasaland African Congress, and Orton Chirwa of the Malawi Congress, opposed the commission, since it would not even consider the theoretical possibility of independence for Nyasaland. Nor would it agree to allow Nyasaland leader Dr. Hastings Banda—now imprisoned— to testify. The African leaders were supported by the Labor Party, which refused to participate in the commission.

Aggravating the situation, former Federal Rhodesian Prime Minister Viscount Malvern on Dec. 29 called Nyasaland Africans "liars" and "fond of a roughhouse, the rougher the better." Told in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, of the Labor Party's opposition to the Monckton Commission, he said: "Europeans here are sensible enough not to care two hoots what is said in the House of Commons."

THE CONGO: Only a year ago the Belgian Congo was being pictured as the African colony where an "enlightened" colonial power had kept things well in hand. This ended on Jan. 4, 1959, when Leopoldville was the scene of a bloody African uprising. Since then the Belgian government has tried to restore calm by arresting the more militant African leaders while conceding minimal rights to the subject population. But this only sharpened and accelerated the African demand for independence.

On Dec. 20, the Congo held elections for local councils without power throughout the colony. The elections were a farce: in Leopoldville the powerful Abako party successfully boycotted them; in other places African parties which participated stood no less strongly for independence than the Abako. In the 19th century belief that colonials were awed by royalty, Belgian King Baudouin visited the Congo during the elections; he was greeted with stony silence or derisive laughter or slogans demanding freedom.

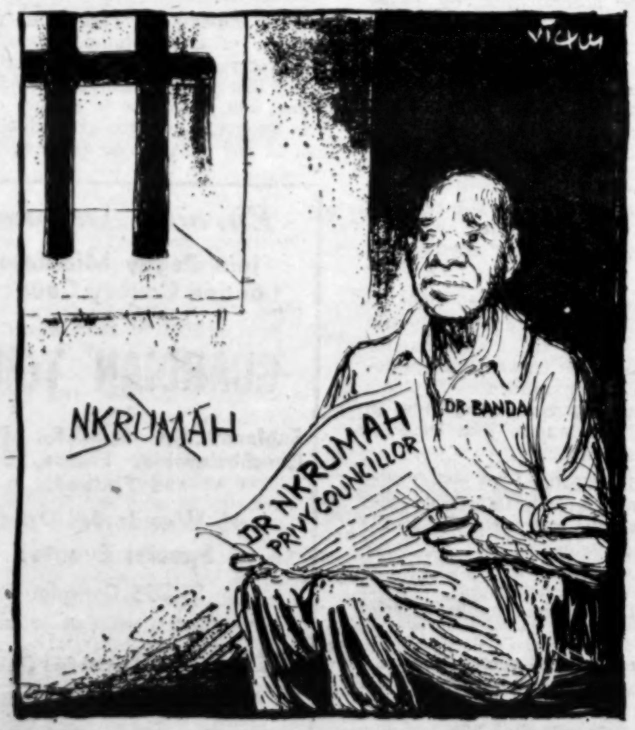
In Kisantu, south of the capital of the Congo, 200 delegates of five African parties representing all shades of political opinion met on Dec. 24 and agreed to negotiate with Belgium on Jan. 5 as free and equals but also as friends, if independence were assured. Meanwhile, jittery Belgian families began moving across the river from Leopoldville to Brazzaville in the French Congo.

WASHINGTON'S ROLE: Events in Africa have placed the U.S. in a dilemma. The State Department's policy has been always to concede the colonial peoples' right to be free—but only when, as former secretary Dean Acheson once said, they "showed themselves worthy of it and ready for it." In practice, the U.S. has never found them "worthy" or "ready" until they have wrenched freedom from imperialist powers. Even when freedom was an accomplished fact, the U.S. on occasion withheld recognition or opposed it if it was tainted with socialist ideas or neutralism. This will no longer work.

For, with rare exceptions, the newly-freed African countries invariably tend to the left and wish to avoid cold war entanglements. Their economic needs require planning and their cultural desire sends them to inquire into their rich past which has so long been belittled by the conquerers and on which they plan to build a new edifice. The leaders of Guinea, Ghana, the numerous African congresses, the Congo and other countries are all more or less inclined toward a socialist society.

African freedom can no longer be denied, and attempts to delay it will increase the agony of the conquerors no less than of the conquered. The best advice to the U.S. was given in a study on Africa prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

"The hardheaded approach to our foreign policy dictates that we phrase our statements and base our action on the recognition of the maturity of African peoples in terms of their own cultures, and of the validity of their own ways for them."



Vicky, London Evening Standard

THE TOM-TOMS BEAT FOR FREEDOM ALL NIGHT

Tanganyika closer to independence

The author of this article is a young Tanganyikan student in London who is also a professional journalist writing for Swahili newspapers.

By Jweli Mgogo
Special to the Guardian

LONDON

NATIONALISM has scored another victory in Africa, this time in the UN Trust Territory of Tanganyika, ruled by Britain. On Dec. 15 the British governor told the Legislative Council that after a general election next September, Tanganyika will get internal self-governing status with elected majorities both in the Council and the Executive. The governor will retain the right to nominate a handful of Council members and a few Cabinet ministers.

This year's elections will, like the 1958 elections, be held on a wider but still restricted franchise. Qualifications for both male and female voters will go as close to universal adult franchise as is considered possible in the circumstances: ability to read or write Swahili or English, or an annual income of £75, or being or having been the holder of a prescribed office.

These qualifications will enable some 1,500,000 voters to register, as against only 60,000 last year. And while the common roll is retained, "parity" of represensation (whereby there was an equal number of representatives for each race irrespective of numbers) and compulsory multiple voting (by which all must vote for one each of the candidates of the three races) will go by the board. There will be 71 constituencies of which 50 will be "open" seats (all likely to be won by Africans), 11 reserved for Asians and ten for Europeans. The precise structure of the Executive has yet to be worked out in London.

FREEDOM CHANT: This will put Tanganyika way ahead of the other territories in "multi-racial" East and Central Africa towards the goal of independence. The concessions are the largest ever made to a predominantly "multi-racial" country and—to put it in the words of the Colonial Office—they are a "gamble."

PROGRESS SLOWLY MAKES ITS WAY SOUTH OF THE SAHARA
Here some logs and trunk of a tree make an outdoor classroom

Chants of "UHU-U--U-RU!!" (freedom) broke the quiet of Dar es Salaam as the governor finished his statement and tom-toms beat all night in all the major towns of Tanganyika.

Tanganyika is a 362,000-square-mile territory (about the size of Germany, Holland and Belgium combined) with a population of 9,000,000 Africans, 80,000 Asians and 22,000 Europeans. It was first colonized by the Germans in the 1880's. Legend has it that when a frontier dispute arose with the British, young Kaiser Wilhelm pleaded with Queen Victoria: "Please, Grandma, do let me keep the big mountain" (the allusion is to Mt. Kilimanjaro).

German rule was harsh and ruthless. In 1915 there was a bloody revolution in which 120,000 people lost their lives. After World War I Tanganyika was mandated to Britain by the Treaty of Versailles; it became a UN Trust Territory after World War II, still under British rule.

BEDEVILED BY RACE: Like other "multi-racial," or "plural" societies as some call them, Tanganyika's politics are bedeviled by race. Race has permeated every sphere of life and the colonial government wanted to keep it so as a strong weapon against the nationalist movement. Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the nationalist leader who is likely to be the territory's first Chief Minister, found a neat way of beating this weapon and turning it into plowshares.

Five years ago, having graduated in economics and history, Nyerere founded the Tanganyika Africa National Union (TANU) to give the people—as he put it—a constitutional avenue for expressing their desires, fears and hopes. The founding of the party coincided with the arrival of a UN mission. Following its tour, the mission issued a damning report against the administration and recommended a timetable for Tanganyika's independence in 25 years. Nyerere went to the UN to urge adoption of the report, but it was rejected by the British administering authority.

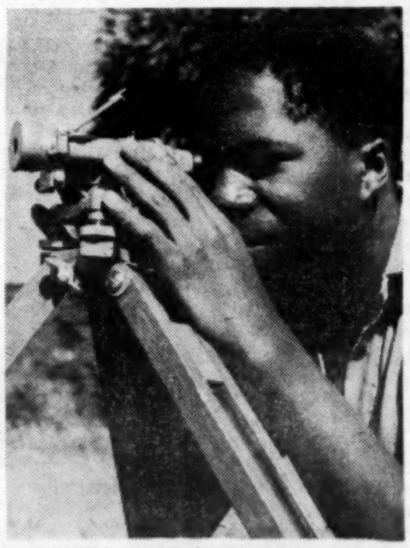
TANU is a mass organization supported by workers and peasants alike, and even by native chiefs who have proved reactionary in other areas. It has more than 800,000 registered members, with branches in almost every village; its slogan "UHURU" (Swahili for Freedom) is a password for everyone, greybeard to street urchin. The colonial governor at first tried to buy off Nyerere by nominating him to the Legislative Council; it did not work.

DIVISION OVERCOME: The governor then inspired the formation of a rival "multi-racial" party, and announced that Her Majesty's government would not hand over power until minority communities' rights were assured of protection. At last year's elections TANU nominated candidates of all races and swept the board; the rival party disintegrated the day after the elections.

TANU was thus left the only effective party in the country, and the "racialism" charge could not be made against it since it had representatives of all races in the Council and commanded the support of all the races. The colonial government could not withhold independence without inviting trouble from all Tanganyikans and laying itself open to charges of rank hypocrisy.

Nyerere and his colleagues will be inheriting a multiplicity of problems next year. The country stagnated during both the mandate and the Trust period. An $84,000,000 scheme to grow peanuts in Tanganyika to supply margarine to British housewives ended in fiasco for lack of planning. One now ardently hopes that the nationalists will apply socialist solutions against the evil trinity of Ignorance, Disease and Poverty.

But Dec. 15 has a wider significance for the whole of "Pluralia;" for the argument that Blacks are incapable of governing where black and white live side by side will be forever exploded in Africa south of the Equator.



A SCHOOL TEACHES FORESTRY
A student uses a surveyor's transit

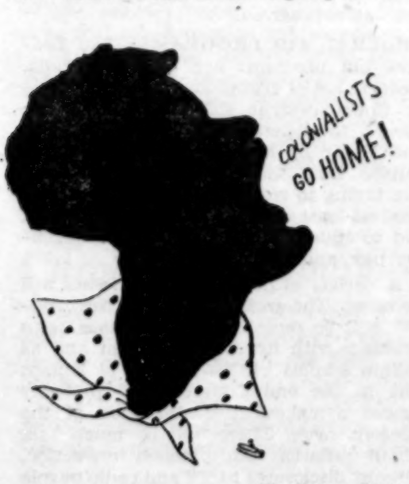
BRITISH PROTEST MACMILLAN VISIT

Boycott of S. African goods grows

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

BRITAIN'S DEFIANCE of world opinion over South African **apartheid** has lent new wings to the boycott movement against South African goods here. After lining up with France and Portugal against 67 nations supporting the UN protest resolution on race discrimination, Prime Minister Macmillan is going ahead with plans to visit South Africa in January "to get a proper picture." Secy.-Gen. Duma Nokwe of the African Natl. Congress commented:


COLONIALISTS GO HOME!

Vie Nuove, Rome

Voice of the dark continent

"In 1960 it will be 50 years since Britain sold out the rights of Africans . . . With the Macmillan visit Britain is again interfering actively in South Africa—against the African people. [If Britain wants] to enter into an even more active business partnership with the Nationalist government, [it] will lose her the friendship . . . of Africans and African states throughout the continent."

BOYCOTT SPREADS: By last week several cooperative societies (including London, the largest) had decided to stop stocking South African products, and six trades councils and the students of six universities were already boycotting South African goods.

Resolutions supporting the boycott had been passed by many Labor parties and trade union branches and by the Women's Liberal Federation. Sponsors for the intensive "boycott month" (Feb. 20—March 19, 1960) included three national trade union secretaries and church leaders of all denominations. In South Africa the boycott is supported by the Liberal Party in addition to all African organizations.

Meanwhile former South African Minister of Justice Swart, noted as a pro-Nazi and sponsor of the bill to flog African offenders against **apartheid**, arrived here to "kiss hands" with the Queen as South Africa's new Governor-General.

The paradox of America

AT THE APEX OF ITS POWER, the U.S. found itself progressively thwarted in its efforts to inspire, lead, and reform the world. This supreme paradox of American history becomes comprehensible when viewed as a direct result of the nation's conception of itself and the world in terms of open-door expansion. For America's weakness in strength was the product of its ideological definition of the world. The U.S. not only misunderstood the revolutions in economics, politics, color, and anti-colonial nationalism, it asserted that they were wrong or wrong-headed and that they should be ignored and opposed in favor of the emulation of the American example . . .

Its revamped foreign policy would be geared to helping other peoples achieve their own aspiartions in their own way. The essence of such a foreign policy would be an open door for revolutions. Having come to terms with themselves—having achieved maturity—Americans could exhibit the self-discipline necessary to let other peoples come to terms with themselves. Having rtalized that "self-righteousness is the hallmark tof inner guilt," Americans would no longer find it necessary to embark upon crusades to save others . . . Instead of trying desperately to keep its brothers, America could then become a brother.

—William A. Williams in **The Tragedy of American Diplomacy**

Atomic waste

(Continued from Page 1)

degree of radioactivity—consist mostly of contaminated equipment: test tubes, bottles, rags, gloves, mops, etc. Some of these are buried in concrete-lined pits where the radioactivity eventually will seep slowly into the earth. Some scientists fear that the concentrated heat in the pits may one day set off a radioactive geyser, but others believe the rate of seepage will be very slow and therefore the danger minimal.

SAFETY UNPROVED: The rest of the low-level wastes are dumped in the ocean. The rationale is that water at the depth of 1,000 fathoms is relatively stagnant and the radioactive seepage from the drums will be largely diluted and not a danger to marine life. Britain has been dumping atomic waste into the Irish Sea for some years and it claims that radioactivity tests of the water show no appreciable rise. The cost of ocean-dumping is about $10 a cubic foot; deep storage costs $15 a cubic foot.

But the safety of the dumping method is far from proved. **The Skipper,** a magazine for yachtsmen, reported in its January issue that tests made by the California Dept. of Fish and Game showed that "barrels now being used for wastes, ruptured before the materials were lowered. Consequently, some of the wastes are being released in the upper surface layers of the ocean instead of being stored on the bottom as intended."

Subsequent tests by the department of five types of containers commonly used showed that three collapsed under pressure at 100-400 fathoms.

THEORY CHALLENGED: Last month the AEC's theory of "stagnant zones" in the ocean was challenged by Soviet scientist Veniamin Bogorov. He reported that a research expedition of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' ship Vityaz showed that ocean water circulates on all levels, down to the ocean bed. Bogorov concluded that radioactive material dumped in the ocean will be assimilated by plankton, then transferred to fish which feed on plankton and eventually to humans when they eat the fish.

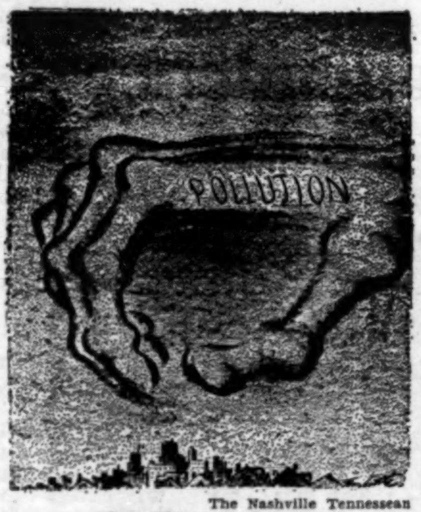
A panel of oceanographers and biologists of the Natl. Academy of Sciences last June concluded a study it made at the AEC's request. It selected 28 sites along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts it said might be considered safe for dumping. But the scientists emphasized that before dumping begins, on-the-spot surveys must be made of the water currents and marine biology. Also, the scientists said, dumping sites must be monitored periodically to determine radiation changes in the water and limitations must be placed on the amount of radioactivity dumped in each area.

INADEQUATE CHECKS: But for the 14 years the AEC has dumped atomic waste in the ocean, there are only sketchy records of the amount of radioactivity in each load. AEC officials claim that since the materials are "heterogeneous" in character, "it is difficult to determine accurately the total quantity of radioactivity involved."

Also, proper techniques for monitoring dumping sites for radiation have not yet been perfected. Dr. Roger Revelle of Scripps Oceanographic Institute testified before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy last summer: "The checks are certainly not adequate. The checks have been of a very preliminary kind. For one thing, it is quite difficult to think of proper techniques for doing this. In the second place, the navigational problem is by no means solved. We are not sure we are looking at just the right place."

A study by the Johns Hopkins University Dept. of Sanitary Engineering was also critical of AEC methods. It said: "This preliminary survey showed that only casual use was being made of oceanographic information, that existing practice has developed as a working expedient to take advantage of local resources."

UNCHARTED FIELD: The AEC has also been casual in defining precisely what constitutes "high-level" and "low-level" waste. There is a gray area which might be called "intermediate." It consists of fission wastes from atomic reactors and spent fuel samples and its radioactive concentration is considerably more than the materials usually dumped in the ocean. But in the absence of regulations governing their disposal, **The Skipper** reported, these materials are being dumped at sea as "low-level" waste. And, the magazine added, "some atomic facilities make unveiled use of the word 'high-level' in describing their wastes processed for sea burial."



The Nashville Tennessean

Something in the air.

Many of the problems in ocean dumping arise because oceanographers and biologists have no experience and little theory in the field. Scientists around the world prefer a cautious view on dropping radioactivity in the ocean. At a meeting of the Intl. Atomic Energy Agency in Monaco last November most scientists took a conservative approach. Although the conference was to exchange information only and formal expressions of policy were not appropriate, the London **Observer** reported that if it were in order, "it is quite likely that a resolution would have been passed urging that radioactive waste disposal at sea should be banned."

MANY OPPOSED: Only British and American scientists held for ocean dumping. They said their experience showed that it did not increase radioactivity in the water and, besides, storage is too expensive. But the majority felt there was not enough scientific information to condone the practice. Italian and Scandinavian scientists argued against dumping in the Mediterranean or the Baltic because they are enclosed to some extent and the water does not circulate as freely as in the ocean.

The Russians were adamant against any kind of disposal except deep storage in steel tanks. They said that any radioactivity added to the environment is harmful.

NEW WARNING: Disposal of atomic waste is a continuing problem and will grow more acute with the increased use of nuclear energy in private industry and the development of nuclear-powered ships.

The AEC plans to expand its ocean dumping program although it is also investigating other disposal methods. Abandoned salt mines in Kansas are being tested as possible burial grounds. Scientists at Oak Ridge Natl. Laboratory are trying to reprocess nuclear wastes to turn part of them into usable radioisotopes for medicine, industry and argriculture. Although this will cut the cost of isotopes to private industry, the wastes will have to be disposed of at a future time.

The AEC seems to be measuring its disposal program in terms of cost in anticipation of turning the atom over to private enterprise. But in making its plans, it would do well to heed the warning of the Johns Hopkins study: "The methods of disposal used for low level waste are clearly inapplicable to the kinds of waste anticipated from a developing reactor economy."

NEXT WEEK: How the AEC keeps its dumping sites secret.

Congress session

(Continued from Page 1)

The issue of peace will dominate the debate over appropriations for national security and foreign aid. Many other legislative matters will basically affect foreign policy; Congress for one thing must make a decision about the new Cuba when it sets the sugar import quotas for next year.

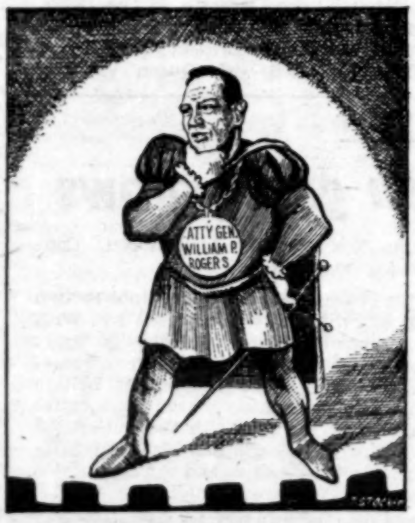
CIVIL RIGHTS: In the closing hours of the 1959 Congress it was agreed that the Senate on Feb. 15 would take up the hot issue of strengthening the Civil Rights Act of 1957. This Act created the Commission on Civil Rights, set up a new Civil Rights Division in the Dept. of Justice, and guaranteed the right to vote with the Federal government having limited authority to seek enforcement by injunctions.

The first report of the Civil Rights Commission revealed the emptiness of the 1957 Act. The paralysis of the Federal government in face of the Mississippi-condoned lynching of Mack Parker underlined it further. Now it is proposed to put some teeth in the law by giving the Attorney General power to act on violations of voting rights, school desegregation, and racial violence, and to appoint Federal registrars in areas where Negro voting is blocked.

House Rules Committee chairman Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) and Senate Judiciary Committee chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) blocked civil right action in 1959. But the issue is now certain to come up in both the Senate and the House.

CIVIL LIBERTIES: A swarm of anti-civil liberties measures aimed at recent Supreme Court decisions are already dangerously advanced in Congress.

Rep. Smith's H.R. 3 to permit states to nullify Federal actions and Supreme Court decisions on civil liberties, civil rights and labor has passed the House. It would upset the 1956 Supreme Court decision in the Nelson case nullifying state anti-sedition laws. The House has also passed HR 9069 to restore the Secretary of State's power to deny passports to "Communists and Communist sympathizers." This would upset the Supreme Court decision of June 16, 1958, in the Kent and Briehl cases which said the Secretary of State lacked that power. Both these House-passed measures are before Senate committees.


ATTY GEN WILLIAM P. ROGERS
STOCKETT

Stockett, Baltimore Afro-American

"To be for a meaningful Civil Rights Bill or not to be—that is the question!"

The House has passed a bill to reverse the Supreme Court's June 24, 1957, decision in the Mallory case which threw out confessions obtained through long delay in charging prisoners after arrest. The House has also passed a bill to reverse the Court's June 17, 1957, Yates decision which freed several Smith Act victims by limiting Smith Act prosecutions to a strict construction of the term "organize." Both of these bills are pending in the Senate.

Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) has a bill ready for final passage in the House to reverse the Supreme Court's decision of June 29, 1959, in the Greene case. This voided the industrial security program in private defense plants when a worker is denied the safeguards of confrontation and cross examination of his accusers.

The legislative offensive against Supreme Court rulings was barely stopped in 1959. This year the Eastland-Walter witch-hunters have prepared their attack more carefully, they have more time, and their 1959 defeat is not at all certain to be repeated.

LABOR LEGISLATION: Encouraged by the passage of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law in 1959, the NAM and other employer groups are pushing for added legislation to weaken trade unions. With the steel strike as a prod, Congress is being worked up for some sort of sure-fire Federal strike-breaking formula. Compulsory arbitration, Labor Courts, government seizure, anti-trust laws applied to unions, bargaining limited to single plants, are among the proposals.

Whether the politicians will dare pass two anti-labor laws in one Congress with a national election coming up is uncertain, but it is a real possibility. In any event, the employer offensive has succeeded in stifling any moves for pro-labor action on Taft-Hartley.

TAXES: House Ways and Means Committee chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.) has publicly killed the chances for overall tax reform or tax reduction in 1960. The extensive hearings just held on this subject are being pigeonholed. Any general tax reform would inevitably involve a move against the give-away depletion allowance tax privileges of the oil industry. Thus it is understandable why the well-oiled Republican Secretary of Treasury from Texas, Robert Anderson, House Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas, and the Majority Leader of the Senate, Lyndon Johnson of Texas, all conspire to put off what seems to them to be the evil day of tax reform.

SOCIAL SECURITY: Something will be done, as it has been every election year since 1950, to improve old age social security. Chances are that this will only be a "catch up with inflation" token increase in benefits. But the opening of the door on social security amendments does create a chance for something more.

Hearings have been completed on the Forand Bill (H.R. 4700) to provide a measure of medical care for old age insurance beneficiaries. Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) has held an impressive series of hearings these past three months all around the country on problems of older people, and has uncovered a great need and demand for help to the aged on the costs of illness. There are signs that the Administration is considering shifting from its position of total opposition to the Forand Bill as "socialized medicine." This could prove the surprise live issue of this Congress.

MINIMUM WAGES: The Senate has completed hearings on legislation to extend the coverage of the Minimum Wage and Hour Law to millions of additional workers, especially in retail trade. A large number of bills have been introduced to raise the current Federal minimum wage from $1 an hour to $1.25. Action on this issue is a major item in the AFL-CIO legislative program.

FEDERAL AID PROGRAMS: Two Federal aid programs are on the agenda. Federal aid of grants and loans to chronic unemployment distressed areas has passed the Senate only to be blocked in the House by Rep. Smith's Rules Committee. Both the Senate and the House are trying to rescue by some compromise deal at least a token program of Federal aid to education for construction, teachers pay, and student aid.

A variety of other economic issues will come up. The annual "battle of the budget" will be repeated. The ominous farm problem with its costly program and $8 billion surplus will be debated at length, but in the end Congress will probably devise a makeshift continuation of the present mess. There will be much talk about inflation, but probably no action. Recent disclosures of TV and radio payola and corruption, food poisoning, and drug profiteering will doubtless fill many pages of the **Congressional Record.** But whether any corrective action will be taken remains highly doubtful.

BOOKS

A lifetime in only a few days

PARIS

A SMALL VOLUME by a young Czech writer, Ian Otchenachek's **Romeo, Juliet and the Darkness,** is having unusual success in Western lands. Since its publication in Czechoslovakia, it has already come out in France and is about to appear in Italy, Holland and Argentina. It is a tense and tragic tale of our times, and the fate of the heroine recalls that of another: Otchenachek's Esther, a girl with long black hair, the candor of a child and the instinctive wisdom of a woman, is the Anne Frank of Czechoslovakia.

Esther was 16 when a machine gun bullet cut her down in a Prague street. The time was June, 1942, shortly after the killing of Hangman Heydrich, the Nazi gauleiter of Czechoslovakia, and there was a grtat deal of shooting then in the streets of Prague.

Esther had been ordered to report for deportation to the Theresienstadt concentration camp, where her father and mother had already been taken. At the last minute, she decided not to present herself, and wandered all day through the streets of Prague. At night, she sat helpless on a park bench, her small valise pressed to her, and cried like a child. A college student began timidly to question her. He finally offered to take her out of the way of danger and put her up in a tiny room, next to his father's tailor shop, where he used to do his school work during the day.

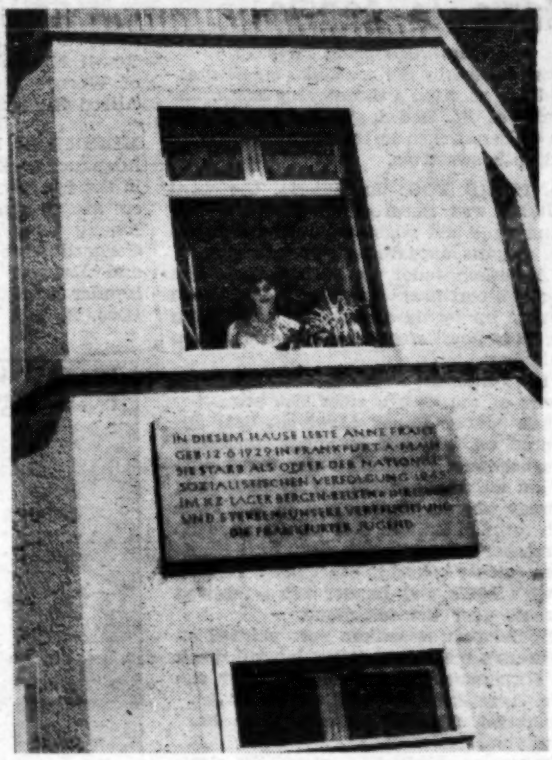
LONELY FEAR: In the shabby little room with the broken furniture, Paul became Esther's only tie with the living world. But he was alone, too, with a dark knowledge: the Nazis had just decreed the death penalty for hiding an "illegal" person. The list of hostages shot at every dawn legthened monstrously. Esther must not know about this, nor must anyone know about Esther's living here, Paul decided. In such times, when the grown-ups were either murderers or victims, could anyone be trusted, even his own father, so full of kindness but so deadly afraid of "trouble" for himself and his family?

Within their narrow walls, in the shadow of death, the two children created for themselves a world more real than the terror and madness around them. The love that grew between them was as new and as fresh as their youth. Everything about it was wonder and discovery, the strength to grow beyond oneself, the courage to give oneself and give oneself wholly. It took courage, too, to silence one's own desperate heart beat, to keep one's own chilling fears from the other, and talk about the future instead. Their own future together, once the present nightmare ended. They had a lifetime before them . . .

A RARE BOOK: But two children cannot hold up the murderous step of fascism; a girl with a yellow star has no right to hide out from a concentration camp; and informers can be everywhere, even in an old Prague house alive with the murmurs of revolt. A lifetime, for Esther, lasted only a few days.

That Esther's small ardent figure is alive today in the minds and hearts of many people is due to the purity and the extraordinary simplicity with which Otchenachek tells her tale. This quiet moving love story had a right to take its title from Shakespeare. It is one of the rare books—one in a decade, fewer perhaps—that conveys the joy—and the shock—of life. It remains with you forever.

—**Anne Bauer**



NEVER TO FORGET . . .
The plaque on this house in Frankfurt, Germany. reads: "Anne Frank lived in this house. Born June 12, 1929, in Frankfurt-am-Main, she died a victim of Nazi persecution in 1945 in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Her life and death—our obligation. The youth of Frankfurt."

ONE MAN IN THE SADDLE AND ANOTHER ON THE ROCKS

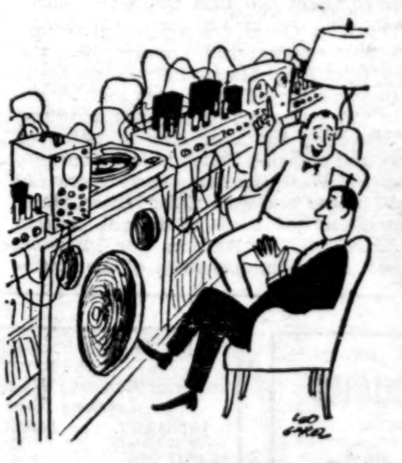
Nasser of Egypt and Beatnik of Poland

LONDON

HISTORY NOW MOVES faster than the writers and publishers of current-events books; and Wilton Wynn, Middle East correspondent for the Associated Press, has been "caught short" by the Iraq-UAR cold war which calls for much re-evaluation of Nasser's role. Wynn's study* is nevertheless a valuable antidote to the basic nonsense rammed down our throats about "Nasserism," which millions of Americans have not yet managed to regurgitate.

He sets the Nasser story in its proper perspective: on the one hand a starving, diseased, illiterate people exploited for 23 centuries by foreigners and a tiny upper class wearing a series of quisling hats; on the other a Western approach which, even in its "do-good" aspects such as Point Four, piled fuel on the fire by denying these people any national dignity.

Wynn shows the "supreme folly" of the Western notion that "Nasserism" is one man's creation, rather than the expression of 40,000,000 Arabs' aspirations. Leading a poor and weak country, Nasser triumphed over Western attempts to strangle his movement by his superior understanding of the decisive forces in today's world. Yet in the Suez showdown even he underestimated Anglo-French stupidity. Wynn believes that had Britain and France not intervened, Israel would have won the Sinai campaign and Nasser would have been deposed.



London Evening Standard
"Listen closely to the last movement . . . and you'll hear the conductor's asthma."

WITHOUT INTOLERANCE toward Israel's point of view, Wynn does not sit in judgment on either side of the Arab-Israeli vendetta and suggests more realism on the part of those who do. That no Arab leader can "even mention peace with Israel" and survive is no less a fact because it is irrational. Egypt's "reprisal" raids over the Israeli border were considered necessary to show Ben-Gurion—as well as the West—that "Arab lives are not second-class lives."

As for the measures against Jews in Egypt, Wynn does not excuse them but points out that they were of a political and security nature: Nasser never tried to stir up hatred on racial and religious grounds, as has been done in so many "advanced" countries.

Now well embarked on persecution—and systematic torture—of his own left-wingers, Nasser's day as a positive force in Arab nationalism may well be over; but his achievements have convinced almost everyone that Arab nationalism cannot be wished, starved or bombed out of existence.

Wynn wants us to see it rather as "the only practical bulwark against communism." If this formulation genuflecting toward Western myths is a plea to the West to show at least as much common sense as the socialist countries about Middle East realities, we have no argument with him.

**NASSER OF EGYPT, by Wilton Wynn. Arlington Brooks, Cambridge, Mass. 213 pp. $3.95.*

WITH THIS NOVELLA* Marek Hlasko, the literary beatnik of Warsaw and points geographically and politically west, gives our critics another opportunity to weep for the "despair" of people in socialist countries.

The author of **The Eighth Day of the Week** has remarkable talent and uses it, as do his brother beatniks in the West, to weave all the hypocrisies and evils of his own country into a single fabric, implying that there is nothing else. He writes of a good Polish party member who falls foul of the police and into general disgrace for nothing more than over-indulgence in vodka, and who in trying to clear himself "finds that instead of paradise, the party has made of his land a vast graveyard" (U.S. publisher's blurb).

PROBABLY ALL the experiences of Hlasko's factory worker Kowalski have or could have happened in socialist Poland; and the despair of any one man to whom they all happened—as they may have done—would be understandable. This would still not make today's Poland "a vast graveyard," and those with slightly longer memories may recall who it was that in fact did make it one during a recent six-year period.

What is more surprising than the picture Hlasko chooses to paint of his country is that, so few years after those events and the beginning of socialist reconstruction, the Polish government is so indulgent toward such completely destructive writing.

HLASKO LEFT POLAND not long ago for a grand wine-women-and-song wingding on his **Eighth Day of the Week** royalties in—of all countries—West Germany. Having tasted "freedom" on-the-rocks both there and in Paris, and quickly noted its brackish flavor, he proceeded to Israel to visit a Jewish friend. When last heard of he was still there, working occasionally as a longshoreman, and watering whatever potable he can now afford—which is not much—with lamentations for the homeland he deserted.

He told the Israeli press months ago that he wanted to go home, since he had learned that in exile he could write nothing worthwhile. Polish authorities in London say they know of no impediment to his return, except that he is said to expect the fare to be paid—and that far they won't cooperate. They still pay tribute to his great literary talent, but say that the sensation he once caused in Poland has been practically forgotten.

—**Cedric Belfrage**

**THE GRAVEYARD, by Marek Hlasko. Dutton, N.Y. 126 pp. $2.95.*

Carol for the Court in Merrimack County

The poem below appeared in the Laconia (N.H.) Citizen *on Dec. 17, 1959. The author lives in Cape Elizabeth, Me.*

GOD rest you merry, gentlemen,
Let nothing you dismay.

A shining spirit is in jail
This holy Christmas day,
Who menaced us by fellowship
With every creed and race:
Oh tidings of comfort! In jail.

From open forums we are saved,
And saved from debate,
Released from inner conscience
Absolved by the state;
God rest you merry, we are saved
From a Christian pacifist.
Oh, tidings of Christmas in jail,
Christmas in Jail!
Oh Christmas, a gentle man in jail.

—**Mary Louisa Davis**

Time to spray

WHAT MADDENS me is that a member of Congress can't be sued for statements he makes about others no matter how damaging to the accused party these statements might be. So these itinerant character defilers [House Committee on Un-American Activities] go from coast to coast at public expense spreading their filthy venom over this land of ours. Anyone that suggests that this committee of professional liars be abolished is immediately accused of being a Communist. But in spite of the chance of being so labeled, efforts to exterminate these political termites should go on unceasingly until Congress sees the light and uses the spray on them.

—From a column by Marl Young in the Dec. 11, 1959, **Los Angeles Tribune**

Nazis in saddle

(Continued from Page 1)

kas; in nearby Seligenstadt, an 85-year-old Jew received a threatening letter. The walls of St. Hedwick's Catholic Church in Gelsenkirchen in the Ruhr were daubed with swastikas.

IN PARIS TOO: In Austria, the word "Jude" was smeared on Vienna's only synagogue and swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans appeared outside Vienna.

A Jewish tailor in Paris produced a doctor's certificate to prove he had been beaten up by the police who called him "a dirty Jew" after an argument with a neighbor.

In London's Notting Hill district—scene of anti-Negro riots last year—the words "Juden Raus" (Jews get out) appeared on walls of buildings, including a synagogue; "Get out Jews" was painted on an Anglican church in Battersea; similar slogans were found in the English town of Bolton, and on a synagogue caretaker's house in Glasgow. Anti-Semitism quickly spread to other British cities; Jewish MP's and former MP's received threats over the telephone.

In Belgium, swastikas were painted on Antwerp's main synagogue, burned down by Hitler's troops and rebuilt after the war. Swastikas were smeared on a Jewish-owned chemical plant in Oslo, Norway.

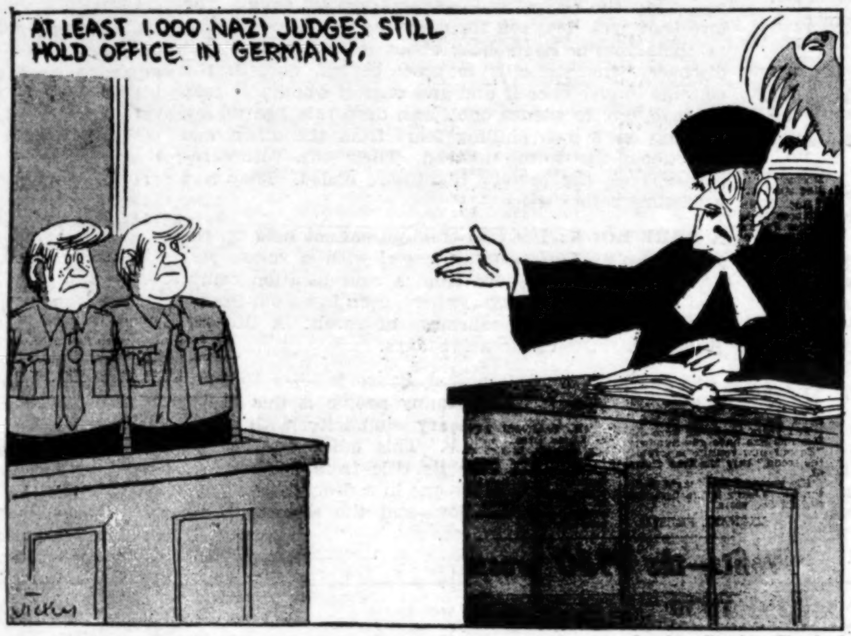
Police established a round-the-clock watch over every synagogue in Italy after Jews and Jewish institutions had received threats. Swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans were daubed on synagogues in Athens, Greece and in several cities in Australia.

In the U.S., Temple Emanu-El in Manhattan and a Jewish temple in Queens, New York, were defaced with swastikas.

A STEADY GROWTH: Anti-Semitism has never died in West Germany. But after a quiet time it increased in virulence as the Cold War persisted. In 1953 a survey entitled "A Year-end Summary of Rightist and Nationalist Sentiment in West Germany"—taken for the U.S. High Commissioner's office — noted a steady growth in anti-Jewish sentiment. It found that most Germans felt neither guilt for the atrocities against the Jews under Hitler nor responsibility for redressing these wrongs.

Western — and especially U.S. — decisions to rearm West Germany even with nuclear weapons have also returned to power former Nazis in every walk of life as bona fide anti-communists. Last year it was reported (UPI, Aug. 22, '59) that more than 40,000 youths in West Germany were in the "German National Youth Movement" under the leadership of Werner Diehl, a high-ranking Nazi; Alfred Zitmann, a convicted SS man.

MURDERER IN OFFICE: High in the Adenauer government, in the police force, in the judiciary and among school teachers are numerous unreconstructed Nazis. Among them are Interior Minister Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, a Nazi storm trooper, and Refugee Minister Theodor Oberlaender who, according to Der Spiegel (Dec. 2, '59), has been accused of the murder of hundreds of Jews as an officer of the military unit called "Nightingale" in 1941.


AT LEAST 1.000 NAZI JUDGES STILL HOLD OFFICE IN GERMANY.
VICKY

London Evening Standard

"Ach, painting swastikas AND getting caught—what would der Fuehrer have said . . .?"

In the London **Daily Express** (Dec. 31-Jan. 1) Colin Lawson reported that "a dozen Nazi-type parties are functioning in West Berlin, which prized itself on being the most democratic city in all Germany." Besides these, he said, he had "discovered there are 1,250 ex-soldier organizations organized in tight, centrally controlled Nazi fashion [and] 30 magazines, 47 publishing houses, 20 book clubs and 126 noted Hitler authors" publishing a stream of abusive Nazi-type propaganda.

Lawson said his investigation showed that "the trail leads beyond the Nazi-type parties—to men in places of power."

MANSTEIN'S BOYS: He found that leaders of Hitler's SS were police chiefs in 11 major cities. He named Joseph Menke, an SS major, as head of Dortmund CID; Fritz Keunecke, SS leader in the Reich security office, deputy head of Essen police; Karl Kiehne, SS man, head of the Cologne CID: And, above all, Dr. Fritz Weber, SS major in Hitlers' head security office, as responsible for all police forces in North Rhine-Westphalia—the region that includes Cologne.

The West German army is full of former Nazi commanders, among whom the prestige of Field Marshal Erich von Manstein was reported to be very high. Manstein was sentenced to 18 years in prison for directing the mass extermination of Jews and ordering Polish villages burned.

In the West German courts there are 1,000 judges who worked for Hitler. Many present school teachers taught nazism under Hitler. In Bavaria, for instance, 11,000 (approximately 60%) of the teachers who were removed from their positions as Nazis have been reinstated.

NO SENSE OF GUILT: Under these circumstances, it was not surprising that, as correspondent Donald Edgar noted in the London **Evening Standard** (Jan. 1), West Germans felt no sense of guilt over Hitler's atrocities, "associated democracy with defeat" and seemed determined to get back the "lost territories"—areas now incorporated in Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

Perhaps it was no coincidence that anti-Semitic incidents increased sharply just at the time when hopeful signs of an East-West disengagement have appeared. Those in power in West Germany apparently were taking advantage of the West's anti-communist obsession by attributing the anti-Semitic incidents to a "Communist plot" to discredit Adenauer.

THEY SPREAD THE LINE: It was not surprising to find anti-Soviet columnist David Lawrence pushing this absurd excuse but it was incredible to find the **N.Y. Times** (Dec. 31, '59) editorially saying that "this would be in line with present Soviet tactics." Edgar in London **Evening Standard** (Dec. 30) characterized this West German ruse as "one small example of the devious ways of the Nationalist movement."

The British, according to the **Times'** own correspondent Drew Middleton (Jan. 4), were neither willing nor unwilling dupes: they feared that "the anti-Semitism [in West Germany] is only one aspect of the worst side of German nationalism," which cost Britain and the Commonwealth just under 4,000,000 casualties in two world wars."

A SYNCHRONIZED JOB: In less than two weeks anti-Semitic demonstrations had reached such proportions that Prof. Franz Boehm, a leading member of Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party and chief delegate to the postwar German-Israeli restitution conference, said: "I think this is a synchronized operation, a sort of rally signal to Nazi and Fascist elements all over Europe." The newspaper **Suddeutsche Zeitung** expressed pessimism that anything would be done because police presidencies and courts were thick with "SS leaders [and] Nazi judges."

The British Civil Liberties Council said it was "deeply disturbed." Dr. Nahum Goldman, president of the World Jewish Congress, said in Jerusalem that the outbreak pointed to the existence of an underground neo-Nazi organization.

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Helen Sobell speaks in Boston Jan. 15

FRIENDS and supporters of freedom for Morton Sobell will hear Mrs. Helen Sobell at Community Church Center, 565 Boyleston St., Jan. 15, at 8 p.m. The Boston meeting is part of a nationwide drive to win amnesty for the witch-hunt victim, soon to begin his tenth year in prison. Donation will be $1.

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See Page 12

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N.Y. Intercultural Society presents a forum on "The School Crisis", Fri., Jan. 8, 8 p.m. at 111 W. 48 St. Participating: **Thelma Johnson, NAACP**, plus speaker from Teachers' Union. Contribution $1.

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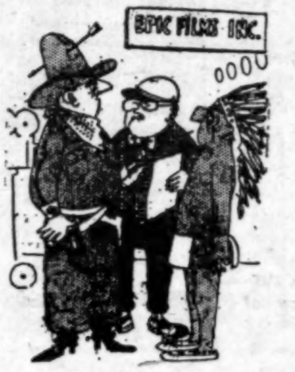
THE GALLERY

ACTOR HUGH O'BRIAN, TV's Wyatt Earp, has been on a one-man crusade to ban atomic weapons and effect world disarmament ever since he visited Dr. Albert Schweitzer in Africa last spring. He said in New York last week that he is disappointed because the Congressional hearings on the effects of atomic attack which he attended got very little public attention. He recalled that "one doctor testified that the Texas City oil fire depleted blood plasma stocks of three states. You can imagine what an atomic attack would do." O'Brian added that "people must make their feelings known to their Congressman." Of the Broadway musical Destry in which he appeared for a week, he said: "Destry has one line that sums up the way I feel about disarmament. He says that if people really want a law-abiding town, they will get it and no amount of guns can change it." . . . Meanwhile the less peace-conscious Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization unveiled a new secret weapon: A walnut-paneled fallout shelter that can double as a game room. Walnut panels cover the walls, cabinets and the garbage can. The floor is of tan vinyl. Designed by the American Institute of Decorators, the shelter-game room is on display at the Intl. Home Furnishings Market in Chicago. . . . For the man who already has a walnut-paneled bomb shelter, Castagnola Florist in Hillsdale, Calif., offers: "Thorobred Perfumed Manure. Composted Pasteurized, perfumed horse manure. Breathtakingly fresh new experience . . . Neatly packaged in cerise colored bag with easy-to-carry handle. $2 a peck."

NORMAN GRANZ, manager of jazz singer Ella Fitzgerald, told this story in a full-page ad in **Variety**:

Before Miss Fitzgerald appeared on the TV show, "The Bell Telephone Hour," on NBC some weeks ago, Granz negotiated with the producers on her musical accompaniment. When it was suggested that Teddy Wilson's trio provide the background, Granz asked if the players couldn't be Wilson plus Miss Fitzgerald's regular drummer, bassist and guitarist. Producer Barry Wood agreed but said: "If you insist on using the guitarist, okay, but it would have to be a Negro guitarist instead of a white one." (Miss Fitzgerald, Wilson and the other musicians are Negroes, but the guitarist is white.)



London Evening News
"Cowboys and Indians is out of date, fellows, we gotta get something new like Chinese and Indians."

Wood explained that the Bell Telephone Co. never allows a mixed group on its show.

Granz insisted that if the guitarist was not included, Miss Fitzgerald would not appear. Wood finally agreed, but on the show, the camera focused only on Miss Fitzgerald and Wilson; the mixed group was never seen.

Granz concluded his ad: "Since NBC's Chairman of the Board and President are so concerned about principle and the purity of NBC-TV, I submit it as important that it concern itself with principles of human rights and human dignities than the fixing of quiz shows. They must concern themselves with sponsors' policies which foster racial prejudice—the worst kind of prejudice in America. It isn't even a question, as it's so often put, of the eyes of the world upon us; it's simply one of self respect and respect for our fellow men."

WANNA BUY A LION, two bears, 40 monkeys, a wildcat and three skunks? The Oak Park Zoo in Montgomery, Ala., is selling them to the highest bidder. City officials closed the zoo last year after a Federal court ordered all recreation areas integrated. Of the animals, Park Superintendent T. A. Belser said: "If the people can't see them, there's no need to keep them." . . . A Maine judge last month turned down an offer by a visiting hunter to pay a game law violation fine with a credit card. . . . A recent ruling by the Local Assistance Board in Elizabeth, N.J., cuts off relief funds to families that own telephones . . . Brig. Gen. John Ondrick, U.S. civil administrator in Naha, Okinawa, expressed "profound regret" last month over the fatal shooting of an Okinawan woman by a Marine sergeant who said he mistook her for a wild boar . . .

—**Robert E. Light**

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NEWSPAPER

279 JUN-60-S
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the SPECTATOR

New Year resolution

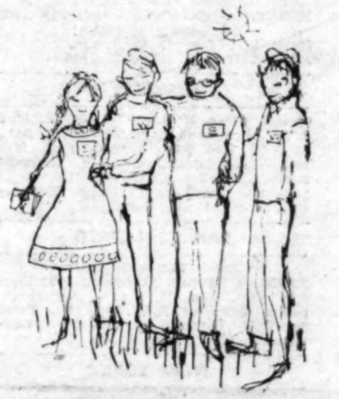
THE WISE MEN TELL US we are in the beginning of a new era. They call it the Atomic Age. It is the Power Age come of age. Mankind has made great progress in what we choose to call civilization by harnessing different forms of power. Early generations used whatever came to hand to increase their power, and stones and clubs may or may not have been the first era. I don't know; I wasn't there.

History had already increased Man's power with such things as gunpowder, steam, electricity, etc., before I was born. So I inherited the ideas born of this power. The printing press, another power tool, left me a heritage of knowledge which is power personified. But in this Pandora box of Power, there lurks great danger.

The discovery and use humanity has made of power potential to increase the material things that make life easy and pleasant has reached a new coming of age, too. Men and women are learning of a new power greater than our newest and greatest Atomic power. The power is not new. It is the oldest of all powers—the power of the human intellect.

THE THING WHICH is new is the idea of the collective. The old way, the only way we have known and practiced through the past eras, was individualism. All our ideas have been based in the individual. It was the natural thing when each individual had little knowledge of the rest of humanity and practically no contact with distant parts of the world or the inhabitants. Men made their living chiefly by their own self-reliance and the use of simple hand tools. The women not only washed the clothes and prepared the food, but in many instances made the clothes from the wool on the backs of the sheep that furnished the food. Life in those days was said to be hard.

But Nature has a law which is variously called the Law Of Contradiction or the Law Of Compensation. In that day of self-reliant individualism, men, women and children were fairly secure in their knowledge and ability to make a living. Each was important to himself and had work that was necessary and useful and therefore not so onerous as we are liable to suppose. One's neighbors were not looked upon as dangerous competitors but as friendly helpers in time of need.


Horizons, Paris

INDIVIDUALISM, in its time, flowered with the fragrance of friendship and love. The seed produced new liberties and freedoms from the era of slavery that preceded it. Man's knowledge advanced to the point where mechanical power could be harnessed in the process of producing the things humanity wanted and needed.

Since the mind of humankind is mainly devoted to the pursuit of needs and wants, and the material needs and wants are much the most obvious, it has been quite natural that the greater part of man's intellect has been devoted to those pursuits. So we have become enamored of power for the sake of the material things which we have needed and desired. We have become idolatrous with a virtual worship of power. We are entering the Atomic Age with this idol for our God.

Sure we have the churches mouthing an abstract idea of God, but we trust the atom bomb to protect us from the evil which the church understands least of all. The religion of individualism is dead as a dodo. It has produced the idea of salvation but history is proving the impossibility and undesirability of this idea.

YES, WE ARE AT THE END of an era. In fact we are at both ends of eras.

This is the end of the era of individualism with its inherent strife and hatred and competition, with its wars and crimes, its deceitful and destructive error born of ignorance and hatred.

This is the beginning of the era of collectivism. It marks the end of selfishness as mankind begins to understand the indivisibility of all things that have only been understood from the individual viewpoint.

It is the beginning of putting together, through cooperation, of all those things mankind has arbitrarily torn apart with an imagination guided by hatred and fear.

It is the beginning of a new faith with new works.

Let us then ring out the old individualism whose day is done in the age of new power and new ideas, and ring in the new era of cooperation among all humanity in all lands. This is the way to a truly free world which cannot be divided nor denied. It is the brotherhood which men have dreamed about and died for!

—**Hobart McKean**